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ABSTRACT

One of a series emanating from a three-year project concerned with the role of women in the English-speaking Caribbean, these papers discuss the history of Caribbean women's education. The project's objectives are to establish a data base for teaching, research, and planning purposes and to develop guidelines for a social policy that recognizes women's needs and draws on their skills and talents for program planning. The first paper presented is the "Official Ideology and the Education of Women in the English-Speaking Caribbean, 1835-1945, with Special Reference to Barbados" (Joyce Cole). Education in the British West Indian colonies was patterned on British education. It was believed that woman's place was in the home. This false ideology led to inferior provisions being made for the education of girls as compared to boys. The second paper, "Educational Attainment of Women in Trinidad-Tobago 1946-1980" (Patricia Mohammed), analyzes the educational achievements of women in the post-World War II era. Girls were found to perform better than boys on the Cambridge GCE 'O' Level Exam and to be in the majority up to this level. The trend is, however, reversed for tertiary and higher education, where more males than females were enrolled. (RM)

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Women in the Caribbean Project

Volume 5

General Editor: Joycelin Massiah

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

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WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN PROJECT

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Christine Roberts (compiler)

FOREWORD

WOMEN IN THE CARIBBEAN PROJECT

This volume is one of a series emanating from Phase I of a three-year project concerned with the Role of Women in the English-speaking Caribbean. The project involves a multi-disciplinary team of Caribbean scholars of both sexes covering the fields of Anthropology, Caribbean Literature, Demography, Sociology and Political Science drawn from the three campuses of the UWI and from the University of Guyana.

The principal objectives of the study are to establish in the region a data base for teaching, research and planning purposes and to develop guidelines for a cohesive social policy which recognizes the needs of women and draws on their skills and talents for programme planning and execution. In addition, the project is seen as a means of contributing to the general body of knowledge on the position of women in social life. Specifically, a major contribution anticipated from the project is an extension of the boundaries of the notion of development and development planning during a period of rapid social and economic change within the Caribbean region.

The study was designed in two phases. The first covered the entire region and focused on the collection and review of available documentary material as well as the conduct of a small pilot study designed to test the instruments for use in a larger field study, styled Phase II. This latter phase consisted of detailed interviews of samples of women in Barbados, Antigua, St. Vincent and Guyana. Both quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques were employed. The objective was to develop an analytic approach which would permit the linkage between basic and applied research which the research team feels is necessary for the development of relevant policy programmes for women.

The Institute wishes to record its appreciation for the assistance provided by the following persons and agencies:

The Leverhulme Trust Fund which financed Phase I of the project;

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the persons, who must remain anonymous, whose invaluable comments helped to improve the quality of the papers;

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Joycelin Massiah
Deputy Director
Institute of Social and Economic Research

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

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KATHLEEN DRAYTON

INTRODUCTION: WOMEN AND EDUCATION

The papers in this volume examine education, one of the main factors defining the status of women within society. The education available to women is also a major indicator of a society's progress. The importance of these papers therefore is that they provide data about the development of the Caribbean as well as information about the education of women in Barbados and Trinidad.

Cole, pointing out that education in the British West Indian colonies was patterned on British education, states that the education of girls here, as in Britain, was predicated on the belief that 'woman's place was in the home and that her true vocation was that of wife and mother'. The argument is, that this false ideology led to inferior provisions being made for girls' education as compared to boys'.

In support of her thesis Cole presents three important ways in which girls were discriminated against. First, there was financial discrimination, more money being spent on boys' schools and on boys' scholarships. Second, the curriculum of girls' schools differed from boys' with the latter being expected to do 'masculine subjects' while girls learned needlecraft. Third, Cole shows that lower standards were demanded of girls than boys, largely because women were perceived to be intellectually inferior to men. This lower expectation of girls she illustrates with a statement from the Trinidad 1901 Education Amendment Ordinance which stipulated that "the work of girls [in arithmetic] will be judged more leniently than that of boys; and as a rule the sums will be easier".

Mohammed analyses the post World War II educational attainment of women in Trinidad-Tobago. She supports Cole's views about the ideologies influencing the provision of education for women but recognizes that education cannot be meaningfully analysed as a separate and autonomous social institution since it 'articulates with other structures of the society'. Female school attendance (78.4) is shown to have outstripped male (77.7) most markedly in the 15 - 19 age group by 1970, after the introduction of free secondary education at last began to reflect the larger ratio of women to men in the population. Mohammed finds that girls perform better than boys at 'O' Level and are in the majority up to this level. The trend is, however, reversed for tertiary and higher education where more males than females are enrolled. She finds that at vocational and technical levels in 1976-77 the majority of women are enrolled in traditional courses. She shows a positive correlation between women's education and their labour force

participation between 1931-46, 1946-60 and in 1970. In discussing the paradox of the formal equality between men and women and women's substantive inequality, she points to the contradiction between the political ideology of equality and the realities of gross economic inequalities.

Seeking explanations for female sexual oppression, Mohammed suggests that 'sexual discrimination thrives' in cultural ideas and practices of different races and classes in the society and that these merit examination. Education of course transmits ideas and values which are usually those of the dominant groups.

This introduction seeks to discuss the nature and purpose of education with special reference to some peculiarities of the Caribbean systems in order to provide a general context for the papers in the volume.

Any such discussion must first be placed in its historical context. Two types of education were available in the British West Indies from 1835. One level of education was provided for the small growing middle class and, indeed, in Barbados, secondary education was called 'middle class' education. The other level of elementary schooling was provided for the masses who were expected to continue as agricultural labourers, artisans or primary teachers and, in the case of girls, as domestics and seamstresses.

The objectives of middle class education were different from those for elementary education for both girls and boys. Working-class men and women were expected to fill different economic 'roles' in the society.

Sterling, on whose recommendations the 1835 Negro Education grant was made by the British government to the colonies, expressed the prevailing ideology of capitalism, concerned as it was to encourage individual development as well as to protect property. The purposes he advanced for the necessity of educating the former slaves have not yet been achieved and remain the purposes of elementary education. He saw education as a liberating force for the individual, having the capability to develop in people "a consciousness of their own independent value as rational beings without reference to the purposes for which they were profitable to others" [Sterling Report in Gordon [7] p. 60]. But he also observed that if "systematic provision was not made for (the negroes') actual improvement, property will perish from the colonies for lack of human impulsion".[1]

The moral and vocational emphases in elementary education for both boys and girls is documented frequently. In the 1892 Barbados Education Report this comment appears:

> It is evident that the 3 'R's receive the attention which should be paid to them ... This with a training in good manners and instruction (so far as it may be given) in industrial pursuits would be a fair training for the masses and for the fitting of their hands to honest toil.

'Honest toil' was not, however, a social expectation for middle-class women and thus the aims of secondary or middle-class education differed from those of elementary education. Secondary education had a very academic flavour and its objectives were the development of mental and critical faculties in both boys and girls. In addition, girls' education for some time retained both a strong vocational flavour and a concern for the acquisition of good manners and lady-like behaviour. There were thus different objectives in providing secondary education for girls compared to boys.

In Barbados, Mitchinson in 1875 [1] recommended 'female education' so that girls could become better wives and mothers. He was uncertain whether girls' capacities were the same as boys, and "whether girls should receive identically the same education as boys". Cole discusses these different objectives in her paper. As late as 1945 the Moyne Commisssion [10 pp.125, 130] stated the same sexist objectives and recommended a vocational bias for girls' education. The Moyne commissioners report was progressive in parts and also recommended "equality of educational opportunity among the sexes" and the teaching of Latin, physics, chemistry and mathematics for girls so that they would have the 'preliminary education' to enter the professions. Mohammed cites the relevant sections in her paper illustrating the contradictory positions that could be taken on the education of girls.

Education provisions for girls up until the sixties reflected the class divisions in the society among Caribbean women and also strengthened them. Secondary education provided the avenue for the new, small professional élite of women to gain economic independence in a more real way than their working-class sisters. This economic independence, however, frequently did not release this class of woman from subordinate positions in the society, and especially if they married. What it did was to strengthen their alliance with the male middle-class dominant group and its values, and to continue the exploitation of working people. In this connection it should be noted that domestic service accounted for the largest numbers of jobs held by working-class women, as it still does [See Mohammed Table 8].

Thus while secondary education gave some women access to the world of male domination, it also reinforced class divisions among women.

Cole and Mohammed have argued that the curriculum taught and reinforced sex role stereotypes imported from Victorian England. What has been called 'Victorian' is, however, of far more ancient lineage, dating back to the Middle Ages. It prompts reflection on the power of education as an instrument of cultural transmission and on the peculiarly distorting nature of colonial education.

Eileen Power [in 9] points out that ideas about marriage and the legal status of women have in fact derived from the Middle Ages and were formulated by 'clerkly orders' and a 'narrow caste' - the aristocracy, 'classes least familiar with the great mass of womankind'. The subordinate status assigned to women ensured that such education as was provided for girls would be vocational, teaching house-wifely skills and good manners. Thus, a supreme irony is that education emphases for girls of different ethnic groups in the Caribbean up to the mid-twentieth century had their genesis in the Middle Ages in Europe.

What is characteristic then about the colonial education systems is that they were expected to transmit foreign cultural values of the imperial power to the native population. Drayton [4 p.18] observed that

> In a colonial society the purpose of education, the initiation of a child into his culture, became distorted since it was the values of a foreign culture which had to be taught while the native tradition was derided or ignored. Colonial education separated people from their environment, taught them dependence and destroyed their self-worth.

Cole points out that alongside its socializing function education has a major responsibility for identity formation. Fanon [5 pp.177-200; 6 pp.102-145, 154] has written on the ways in which colonialism (and this includes its education systems) has affected the psyche of the colonized, but much needs to be done on the ways it has affected the psyche of girls from different ethnic backgrounds within the colonial society. Caribbean women derive from different ethnic groups. Identity formation will have been affected not only by ignoring 'the different relationships to the means of production' which obtained among different classes and ethnic groups but by ignoring the different cultural traditions and norms confining

women from different ethnic backgrounds.

Education is essentially a political process and, in Michael Manley's words, must be seen 'as an extension of political purpose' [8]. Education is the mechanism used by modern States to allocate individuals to the resources that exist in a society and to its social hierarchy. Where that social hierarchy has rigid lines of class, race and sex, and where the resources are owned and controlled by a small ruling group, the education system will remain elitist in its goals and its organization, serving the existing social formation.

Since 1835, when the public education system in the Caribbean can be said to have started, education has increased in quantity and in quality. But the well-paid status jobs and the positions of influence and power within the societies have naturally not increased in proportion to the number receiving schooling. This has created one of the greatest contradictions within the education system. As the enrolment in secondary schools has increased, in every territory the percentage of students who gain certificates showing successful completion of secondary education has decreased. The examination system is a kind of political filter, and has created a whole secondary school system in the English-speaking Caribbean that enshrines failure as one of its goals.

An examination of 1981 Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) results in all subjects for all territories at both levels, the Basic Proficiency and the General Proficiency, shows this high failure rate except in subjects where a comparatively small number of students wrote the examination. Table I shows candidates from Barbados and Trinidad-Tobago who sat the examination in 1981 and gained Grades 1 and 2.[2]

For the purposes of this analysis, it is only necessary to point to the high failure rate and to emphasize that certificates gained at this examination, which is replacing the General Certificate of Education (GCE), provide entrée to many jobs and to most areas of tertiary level education.

Since the status jobs and positions are limited, the examination functions as an allocation system. CXC, so far, seems to be proving to be even more selective and, arguably therefore, more élitist than the English examinations. The pattern is one of an increased number of students writing the examination at the end of the five year period of secondary schooling and of greater percentages 'failing'.

CXC 1981 Candidates From Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago
Sitting CXC Exams and Gaining Grades 1 and 2

Subject	Territory	Basic Proficiency			General Proficiency		
		Candidates Sitting the Examination	Candidates Gaining Grades 1 and 2		Candidates Sitting the Examination	Candidates Gaining Grades 1 and 2	
			Number	Percentage		Number	Percentage
English	Barbados	1,018	316	31.04	1,942	938	48.30
	T'dad & T'go	8,298	1,525	20.55	12,033	3,575	31.08
English B	Barbados	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	821	370	45.06
	T'dad & T'go				1,702	500	29.37
Maths	Barbados	700	285	40.72	996	372	37.34
	T'dad & T'go	9,203	1,312	14.26	7,321	1,342	31.99
Geography	Barbados	320	62	19.37	936	419	44.76
	T'dad & T'go	1,896	218	11.49	4,354	1,602	36.79
Caribbean History	Barbados	210	127	59.91	834	499	59.83
	T'dad & T'go	484	117	24.16	799	226	28.28
Social Studies	Barbados	68	42	61.76	39	30	76.92
	T'dad & T'go	2,223	909	40.88	1,273	407	31.97
Spanish	Barbados	239	56	20.43	449	105	23.39
	T'dad & T'go	2,517	306	12.16	1,904	525	27.85
Agricultural Science	Barbados	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	15	8	53.33
	T'dad & T'go				926	159	17.17
Integrated Science	Barbados	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	86	28	32.56
	T'dad & T'go				38	34	89.47
Principles of Business	Barbados	175	70	40.00	280	88	41.43
	T'dad & T'go	1,790	511	28.71	1,209	438	36.23
Principles of Accounts	Barbados	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	307	44	14.33
	T'dad & T'go				2,850	448	15.72
Office Procedures	Barbados	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	73	19	26.03
	T'dad & T'go				634	41	6.47
Typewriting	Barbados	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	153	26	16.99
	T'dad & T'go				923	135	14.63

Source: CXC Statistics 1981 (mimeo)

Any consideration of the education systems of the English-speaking Caribbean should, however, begin by taking account of the fundamentally unequal nature of the societies. A small ruling group of commerce and the professions continues to live comfortably off the labour of the majority of workers and to resist changes in the social and economic structures. This group here, as in other societies, is served by the education system which filters out people at every level so that the number receiving university education is a tiny fraction of the population that starts primary education. In Barbados, for example, the enrolment figures for 1980 were as follows:

Primary Schools	37,422
Secondary Schools	28,625 [3]
U.W.I. (Cave Hill)	1,472 [4]

In 1977, Guyana estimated that "those who attain university education ... constitute less that 2 per cent" [3].

Education will open male dominated professions and positions of influence to some women and it will give economic independence to many, but it is incapable of transforming society.

These papers improve our knowledge of the historical process which imposed on the British West Indies an education system that discriminated against women while creating and reinforcing an image of women's role which differed from social reality. They show that it was not the world of work, but prestigious positions and the 'citadels of power' that their education made inaccessible to women. They also point to areas for future research. One such is the ways in which schools contribute to sex role stereotyping via teaching practices, curriculum and text books. Another is the reasons for the apparent drop out of women at the tertiary and higher education levels and the reasons why few women continue to enter non-traditional occupations. Finally, there is need for an examination of the cultural ideas and practices that enshrine sexual discrimination among different classes and races in the society. Mohammed has emphasised "the need for a refocusing of social science investigation into the virgin territory of sexual oppression". The logic of this is irrefutable in view of the universal sex bias, not only in the Caribbean, but in all societies.

This is work to be carried out by indigenous Caribbean women who recognize that solutions to our problems cannot be imported wholesale from North America, Europe or even other Third World cultures.

INTRODUCTION

Education will not transform society but it can prepare women, mentally and psychologically, to fight against the many types of oppression they endure in all the existing socio-economic systems. The road to human liberation stretches far off but women with education have started the long march.

Footnotes

[1] For a good discussion of Sterling's recommendations see Carl Campbell [2].

[2] CXC does not award Pass/Fail Grades. Candidates are graded 1 to 5 in each subject. Grades 1 and 2 at General Proficiency level are the levels accepted so far by most institutions as equivalent to G.C.E. 'O' Level passes.

[3] Barbados: Ministry of Education, Planning Division. 1981.

[4] The figure for U.W.I. indicates a trend only and must be treated with caution. It includes non-Barbadian students at the Campus and it of course excludes Barbadians at other campuses or in other countries at university level institutions.

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JOYCE COLE

OFFICIAL IDEOLOGY AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN, 1835-1945 WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BARBADOS[1]

Introduction

In recent years, the importance of gender differentiation as a critical aspect of social inequality has increasingly engaged the attention of researchers concerned with the status of women. A significant finding in this regard is the relatively inferior status of women in today's world, particularly with respect to the distribution of social and economic rewards. Perhaps the most popular explanation for this situation has been the biological one in which it is assumed that women, as 'the weaker sex', have certain inherently physical and psychological characteristics which predispose them to non-marketable roles such as child-rearing and home maintenance [See Holter 12 esp. pp.11-16]. Such a view is now challenged in the light of research activities and feminist literature of the last two decades. The point is well made by Holter who notes [p.18] that:

> ... by themselves, biological traits do not account significantly for variations in gender differentiation to justify their individual consideration. If they determine sex differences, it is in interaction with social, economic and technological factors.

Elsewhere, Schlegel [14] argues that in order to understand sexual status and sexual inequality in any society we need to examine the role that women play in its central institutions and the cultural axioms that legitimize these institutions. These cultural values and axioms inform our attitudes towards ourselves and the world around us, providing guidelines for action. An important institution in the formation of social attitudes and values is education.[2] Education or, more specifically, formal schooling not only socializes children into the prevailing values and norms of society, but also has a major responsibility for identity formation and the preparation of individuals for their future adult roles.

The process of schooling, that is, the organization and transmission of knowledge may be said to be guided by the prevailing ideology of a particular society at any given point in time. Ideology is a normative concept here defined as ideas and cultural values. In the Marxist sense the concept is used to denote "the knowledge propagated by particular classes to preserve their self interest"

[Cosin et al 7, p.173]. Ideology is related to social structure in the sense that it provides a rationale for the distribution of power, access to the means of production, and the allocation of persons within the stratification hierarchy.

In elaborating on the relationship between ideology and social structure, Althusser [1] argues that in order for capitalist societies to survive, it is important to reproduce not only the forces of production (the objective conditions of a capitalist economy such as technology and wage labour) but also the social relations of production (employer-worker relationships and appropriate behaviour and attitudes for maintaining these). While the forces of production are reproduced through the capitalist economic system, ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) are charged with reproducing the social relations of production. The family and the school form part of the ISAs and their main function is to transmit ideology. Since the prevailing ideology in capitalist society comes from the ruling class, the school passes this on to its charges through the socialization process where children are taught "the rules of respect for the socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rules of order established by class domination" [Althusser 1].

The social relations of production include not only relationships between classes but also the sexual division of labour. Deem [9] argues that in England and Wales the school and the family together have contributed greatly towards the maintenance of the social relationships of production, particularly with respect to the relationship between classes and the sexual division of labour. Provision of education for girls in the United Kingdom in the 19th century was strongly influenced by the nature of the labour market under capitalism in which men provided the labour, while women were responsible for reproducing the labour force, child rearing and home maintenance. Women's education in the colonies was informed by the same thinking. As Enid Lynch [13 p.67] points out, "it was inevitable that the provision of education for girls in Barbados reflected theories widely held in 19th century England". Thus the quantity and quality of girls' education in the colonies followed closely the English pattern, even though the West Indian woman's objective reality, particularly among the lower classes, may have differed somewhat from their British counterparts. For example, because of the matrifocal family structure, many lower class West Indian women, in addition to rearing their children, were the sole breadwinners.

It will be argued in this paper that the education of women in Barbados, as indeed in other former British West Indian societies in the period under review, was predicated on the ideological assumption prevalent in Britain at the time that woman's place was in the home and that her true vocation was that of wife and mother. It will be demonstrated that although girls were not discriminated against in terms of access to schools, particularly at the primary level, educational expansion introduced sex segregation and curricular differences leading to a relatively inferior education for girls vis-à-vis boys. As a result, at the end of their school careers, girls were generally disadvantaged with respect to employment opportunities. Not only were their career choices severely limited, but those who worked were employed in the worst paid occupations [Lynch 13]. Moreover, their relatively subordinate status in the economic order effectively removed them from the centres of power and the decision-making process even within the educational system itself. It is true that middle class girls received more and better education than their lower class counterparts, but this did not alter the outcome with respect to the inferior status of women within the wider society. Deem's comments [9 p.5] that the education of girls in 19th century Britain was seen in terms of the effects which it would have on their families, that is, in increasing their domestic skills so that a higher standard of care would be provided, and in raising the moral standards of their children and menfolk rather than for the benefits which it might confer on the girls themselves, are applicable to the West Indian situation.

In an attempt to understand the underlying ideological assumption which informed the education of girls in the Caribbean, I propose to examine the major official reports and documents written during the period under review. The official ideology behind the early provision of education is critical to our understanding of the current position of women with respect to educational opportunities and to their status within the wider social order. My main concern here is with documents referring to primary, secondary and teacher training education. The focus is primarily on Barbados, partly because of the availability to me of source materials and partly because Barbados has been very active in issuing policy statements on education.[3] However, reference will be made to other West Indian territories, notably Antigua, St. Lucia, Grenada and St. Vincent. Some sources of data include reports of commissions of enquiry, codes of regulations for elementary schools, education ordinances, education reports from school personnel such as school inspectors, despatches from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and

Colonial Development and Welfare reports. Although many of these reports do not deal specifically with the education of women, it is possible to draw inferences about the assumptions relating to sex differentiation from the kinds of proposals regarding the curricula in schools and teacher training colleges. The analysis ends in 1945, a year which marked the beginning of the post-war era and, for the English-speaking Caribbean, the beginning of the road to nationhood and modernization.

Early West Indian Education - Pre-Emancipation

Although educational institutions existed in the Caribbean during slavery, legislative enactments concerning the national provision of education did not appear until the post-emancipation period.[4] From the earliest accounts, the conduct of primary schooling in the pre-emancipation period was largely a matter for the clergy who relied heavily on the planters for facilities such as space and financial support. According to the evidence, most of the schools were found in the towns, rather than on the estates, because of the general aversion of estate managers to providing schools on their properties. That education was highly prized by the populace is attested to by the fact that the schools were crowded.

There is no evidence of sex discrimination at this time since children of both sexes as well as adults attended school. However, co-education appeared to have been the norm with separate rooms provided for girls and boys. Instruction largely centred around basic literacy and numeracy and religious study rather than vocational education, although it appears that needlework was one of the subjects taught [Sturge and Harvey 15 and Gordon 11 Ch. I]. Whether this was taught to girls only or to both sexes is unclear. What seems clear is that during this period the provision of primary education was limited. Instruction was rudimentary and the curriculum was limited to reading, writing, arithmetic and religious instruction.

Secondary education was sought by the white and coloured children either in England or in the few grammar schools provided for them in the respective islands. Most of the latter were private boys' schools established as a result of bequests made by wealthy planters and merchants for this purpose. An exception is seen in the case of Trinidad in the establishment of St. Joseph's Convent in 1836, a boarding school for upper class, mainly white, girls. Instruction in the boys' schools was mainly classical; designed to produce graduates for the 'higher'

professions and the priesthood. According to Gordon [11 p.18], the pre-emancipation society "was not therefore in any sense an educated one... At no stage was there much thought of aim or standard. It was not in fact a system either in thought or practice".

EDUCATION IN THE 19th CENTURY

Primary Education

The Sterling Report of 1835 was the first official report on education in the Caribbean. The Reverend J. Sterling was appointed by the British Government as a special commissioner to advise on the control of education in the colonies, since the colonial government was anxious to extend primary education to the children of freed slaves. The basic ideology suggested in the report was that the civilizing and moral influences of education would mitigate the 'barbarian origin and servile condition' [Quoted in Gordon 11 p.21] of the ex-slaves. Education should therefore be provided for as many children as possible as a means of social control and to instil loyalty to the mother country.

At this time primary schooling throughout the colonies was provided sporadically. The provision of education continued to be largely the domain of the church since there was "no general disposition on the part of the planters to encourage education" [Sturge and Harvey 15 p.4]. Boys and girls alike appeared to take advantage of whatever schooling was offered and there was little discernible difference in discipline and proficiency between the sexes [ibid]. Although learning was mechanical and restricted to reciting, singing, reading and writing, there is evidence of some vocational activity in a few schools. For example, in Antigua where schools were deemed to have been the most efficient at the time, straw plaiting was pursued in both boys' and girls' schools, although the making of shoes and trousers was restricted to boys' schools [15 p.54].

Sex segregation and curricular differences were evident in Barbados. Davy [8] reports that both boys' and girls' schools for poor whites existed in the 'wider parts' of Barbados where boys were taught reading, writing and the first rules of arithmetic, while girls' education was limited to reading and plain needlework. Davy's observation [p.81] that the half caste Barbadian woman appeared "inferior in manners and greatly inferior in information to the men, the natural consequence of a more secluded life,

and a more limited and imperfect education" indicates that women at all status levels were disadvantaged in terms of educational access vis-à-vis men. Nevertheless, women played an active and important role in the provision of girls' education. These were mainly religious women who devoted much time and energy to teaching. For example, in the 1840s the Sisters of Charity and other females of the Roman Catholic persuasion were instrumental in establishing schools for girls in Dominica.

During the 19th century, provision of primary schooling remained a major concern for all Caribbean territories. There is no doubt that the ultimate goal was universal primary education. Efforts were made to increase the numbers of schools and school places as well as to ensure regular attendance. Nonetheless, the official view concerning the purpose of education did not depart significantly from Sterling's 'civilizing mission'. For example, Sir William Robinson, Governor of Trinidad 1880-1890, is reported to have expressed the hope that the various interest groups involved in educational provision would bury their differences in "a united effort to bring these poor and neglected children *within the pale of civilizing influences*" [Quoted in Brereton 4 p.67] [emphasis mine].

The drive towards a national system of popular primary education resulted in an increase in the number of children attending primary school by the end of the 19th century. Barbados stands out in this regard with 169 public elementary schools. Although there was no policy discrimination with respect to sex enrolment, in many territories male pupils outnumbered females, though slightly.[5] The reasons for the sex imbalance in enrolment are not immediately apparent (except for the case of Trinidad - Tobago where East Indian girls were kept away from school by their parents). Available census data from 1851 for Barbados at least indicate that the numerical difference between boys and girls in the school age population 5-14, was negligible. It may be assumed that mothers were generally reluctant to send their daughters to school, an indication that they too were influenced by the prevailing ideology with respect to women.

The Mitchinson Report

In the 1870s a Commission was set up by the Barbados House of Assembly to report on education. The result was the Mitchinson Report of 1875 which deserves special mention as it is the first official document to make

specific reference to the education of girls. Yet, while the report deals extensively with boys' education, it devotes only one paragraph to the education of girls.[6] The Commissioners' concern stemmed from their observation that although infant schools combined both sexes in a single institution, many girls never received an education beyond this stage. The report laments the neglect of female education in Barbados, at the same time raising the issues of the quality, quantity and content of girls' education vis-à-vis boys'. Thus they report [p.33]:

> Whether girls should receive identically, the same education as boys, whether their capacities are precisely the same, and if not, what ought to be the subjects on which their studies should be concentrated, are still unsettled questions. One thing seems clear that if female education here is unsound and flimsy, narrow in range, and wanting in thoroughness; *if moreover, the most valuable part of a young child's education, including the formation of its task, and the development of its mental capacities depends mainly on early maternal teaching it is idle to expect the boys in our first and second grade schools to go there well prepared and receptive of culture till this defect is remedied.* So that after all, perhaps, the key to the problem of education really is to be found in the establishment, if possible, of thoroughly sound female education in the colony [emphasis mine].

That the Commission did not choose to debate the question of the quantity and quality of girls' education can be taken as indicative of their general acceptance of the prevailing ideology. This saw the role of women as mainly a socializing one in the upbringing of their children and contributing to the stability of the home: women must be educated if they are to adequately prepare their sons to benefit from formal schooling.

An examination of their proposals for a 'sound female education' reveals useful insights into their underlying assumptions. Class factors were foremost, with specific reference to the 'middle and upper classes' for whom at least one good girls' school was recommended. Excellence and 'refinement' were to be the main criteria in the recruitment of the lady principal and assistant governesses who should be trained in one of the excellent girls' colleges in England. Although not explicitly stated, we may conclude that the proposal referred to a secondary school which, if successful, could lead to the establishment of another girls' school with a 'higher curriculum' at a later stage. The proposed curriculum at this stage,

however, closely paralleled that recommended for second grade boys' schools[7] with the addition of music, drawing and singing. Since second grade education was aimed at the less able boys 'not destined for a profession nor showing capacity for high intellectual culture' [p.23], it was as though girls were expected to receive an education up to the level of boys in second grade schools since they too were not destined for the professions, however intellectually able they might be. Indeed, the impression is conveyed of providing a 'finishing school' for upper and middle class girls rather than a sound academic education, so that they would be adequately prepared for their roles as wives of professionals.

Single Sex Schools

The principle of single sex schools became entrenched during the latter part of the 19th century. The 1894 Bree Commission of Barbados endorsed an earlier recommendation to abolish the old combined school and establish single sex schools at the primary levels above the infants' grade.[8] Where, as in Grenada and St. Lucia, single sex schools were not yet established, the Code of Regulations for primary schools required that boys and girls should play in their respective playgrounds and that female pupils should be dismissed at least five minutes before the boys. In addition, female pupils should never be left alone with a male teacher after school hours unless a female teacher was present. Violation of this rule carried a penalty of £1 [Special Reports 24 p.262].

Although the rationale for single sex schools was not made explicit, we see here another facet to the prevailing ideology with respect to women. This is the woman as temptress, the biblical Eve, who cannot be trusted alone with a man lest he succumb to her wiles. The woman, as the weaker sex, yields more readily to temptation and in so doing is able to induce the physically stronger male to sin. The segregation of the sexes in schools was also in keeping with the conventional morality of the time when girls were not allowed to be alone with boys unless a chaperone was present. Nowhere in these reports do we find any debate of the pros and cons of single sex co-educational schools, although the consequences of sex segregation for interpersonal male/female relationships as well as access to non-traditional subjects are clearly important for female socialization and eventual status.

The Curriculum

If there was no discernible policy of discrimination against the participation of girls in primary education, the same cannot be said with respect to the curriculum. The perceived sexual division of labour that defined women's work from men's was most strongly marked in the kinds of subject specializations offered in schools. While all children followed a common curriculum in terms of a basic education, specialization occurred, in some instances as early as Standard 1 (7-9 years old), when needlework was specified as a subject for girls only. Interestingly enough, agriculture defined as practical work in school plots, and drawing (*for boys only*), did not appear on the curriculum until Standard 3.

The assumptions underlying a sex differentiated school curriculum are all too evident. Clearly, lower class girls were being trained for domestic work, crucial for the supportive role they were required to play in the wider society as wives and mothers, or as low-paid servants in upper class homes. Lower class boys, on the other hand, were provided with a distinctly vocational education. This vocational bias was made explicit in a proposal for 'useful occupations' to be included as part of the school curriculum *for boys only* in Barbados in the hope that 'school managers would include a trade such as carpentry, joinery, tailoring or shoe-making' in their programme [Special Reports 24 p.50]. In addition to the domestic content, female education also included a cultural or aesthetic aspect. Singing and recitation, commonly felt to be women's activities, appeared as subjects *for girls only* on the curriculum in Barbados. Although class variations occurred in the education of girls in the 19th century,[9] it may be argued that conceptions of femininity applied equally to the education of lower class, middle, and upper class girls. This may perhaps explain why an act to establish a Boys Industrial School "for the instruction and training, and for the employment in agricultural work of such boys as are hereinafter in this Act specified" was passed in 1883 [Laws of Barbados 1882-1883][10] while a similar school for girls was not established until 1912.

Byrne [6] has argued that "of the many theories of character stereotyping which psychologists and psychoanalysts have served to reinforce, the intellectual antithesis of man, the logical reasoner, the woman, the intuitive pragmatist, is educationally the most dangerous". That this stereotype of the woman informed the official ideology, is illustrated by a statement in the 1901 Education Amendment Ordinance of Trinidad - Tobago where

it was stipulated that in arithmetic "the work of girls will be judged more leniently than that of boys; and, as a rule, the sums set will be easier" [Special Reports 24 p.229].[11] Not only is the woman innately illogical, she is the weaker sex as well; so that even when she is allowed to intrude on male territory she is given less strenuous work.

An interesting account provided in the annual report on the primary schools in St. Lucia in 1901 supports the statement above. A teacher of practical agriculture at an East Indian Mission School was highly commended for his success. His account, which was reproduced in the annual report, described his methodology thus: "the whole of the garden is divided into beds, with a main path in the middle, on which we are now putting stones, *gathered by the girls and broken by the boys*" [Special Reports 24 p.329 emphasis mine]. The division of labour into lighter work for girls and strenous work for boys is in keeping with the physical characteristics attributed to the sexes. Significantly, no further reference is made to girls in the report. On the other hand, 'the bigger boys' received rewards of cabbages and large tomato seedlings, gifts which pleased them, and which no doubt provided incentives for more enthusiastic participation in the project. That this might have produced the desired effect is illustrated by the teacher's remarks that 'with one or two exceptions the boys take great interest in the lessons'. This account conveys the impression that the exercise centred primarily around boys by way of practical training and that girls were in fact peripheral to the main activity, playing more or less a supportive role.

Secondary Education

Class and sex distinctions stand out as the most pervasive features of secondary education during the 19th century. Efforts to provide primary schooling to as wide a public as possible were not matched at the secondary level. This deficit in secondary education was a major concern to the Mitchinson Commission. As a preamble to its recommendations for remedying the situation, its Report states [19 p.22]:

> Although, however, much requires to be done before the education of the lower classes can be deemed to be in a thoroughly satisfactory state, there is at present little if anything done by the state for the education of the middle section of our community in this colony.

The 'middle section' appears to refer to middle class boys. A second grade education[12] was proposed for such boys although the report hastened to add that the term 'second grade education' should not be confused with 'middle class education'. Rather, second grade education referred "simply to the amount of time that can be allotted to instruction before entering on the business of life, and to the estimated capacity of the pupil to profit by instruction". Here we see an attempt to endorse meritocratic, rather than class, factors as the major criteria for secondary school selection. Yet the commissioners were unable to maintain the class neutrality which they themselves so eagerly stipulated, as only three paragraphs later they justified the establishment of second grade schools "to the great advantage of the *middle class* in our community" and "to meet that legitimate craving 'useful Education', in the truest sense of the word "useful" [p.24]. Although 'useful education' was not defined, the reference to first grade education in terms of 'a higher standard of educational excellence' leads us to conclude that usefulness was conceptualized as education befitting boys for middle level occupations in commerce and the public sector.

It is noteworthy that no similar institution was proposed for middle-class girls, implying that 'useful education' was not perceived to be necessary for their future roles. As a result of the Mitchinson Report, Queen's College, a first grade school for girls was established in Barbados in 1881 "for the purpose of furnishing a sound and high class education to girls of the upper and middle class of society" [p.57], and a sister school to the long established Harrison College and Lodge School. The rationale for the establishment of this school has been discussed earlier. There is no doubt that the establishment of Queen's College was a progressive step in terms of female education in Barbados. However, it is clear that the 'sound and high class education' proposed above was seen more as a preparation for the civilizing role which upper class girls were expected to play as wives and mothers rather than to enable them to compete with boys either for island scholarships or professional careers.[13] It should be noted that upper class British girls fared better than their Barbadian counterparts. Deem [9] points out that some upper class British girls' schools in the 19th century offered an education which was fairly similar to that which obtained in boys' schools, enabling their pupils to learn 'masculine subjects' such as maths and science, thus providing them with the basis for an independent life style. Towards the end of the 19th century, secondary education for girls in Barbados was to receive an additional filip with the opening, in 1896, of the Alexandra School, a second grade school

for girls. This school was intended to fill the need for girls in the Leeward parishes, and even though second grade, it no doubt catered to the middle rather than the lower classes. As in Britain, secondary education was not intended for lower class girls.

In spite of the efforts to further secondary education for girls in the latter half of the 19th century in terms of school places, they remained clearly disadvantaged vis-à-vis boys. In Barbados, for example, there were six second grade schools - four for boys and two for girls, and three first grade schools - two for boys and one for girls . The male bias was even more obvious in the award of scholarships, for whereas 20 junior and 10 senior exhibitions were made available to deserving boys for entry into first grade schools, no such facilities existed for girls. Moreover, scholarships to universities, tenable at Oxford or Cambridge, were only open to boys.

Compared with Barbados, secondary education in Trinidad - Tobago was in its infancy at the end of the 19th century and was largely the preserve of the upper class [Brereton 4]. Only four secondary schools existed[14], three boys' and one girls'. Of these, three (two boys' and one girls') were located in Port-of-Spain, the capital, and one boys' in San Fernando. Tobago was not represented. In addition, girls' education was entirely a private matter and was neither subsidized nor controlled in any way by the state [Special Reports 24 p.195].[15] Needless to say, girls were grossly under-represented in the secondary school system in that country. Brereton [4 pp.74-75] observes that "the secondary education of girls, even more than that of boys remained closed to all but the upper and middle class". Since class generally coincided with colour, most of these girls' private schools were attended by white girls. Access to secondary education was virtually impossible for girls from working and lower middle class backgrounds, which also meant black and coloured girls. In this regard, they fared worse than their male counterparts, for whom it was possible, though extremely difficult, to obtain a secondary education by securing one of the four, later eight, free places at the two colleges on the basis of their performance at the annual examinations held for primary school students.

The position in Grenada and St. Lucia appeared rather more favourable for girls. Of the three secondary schools in Grenada, all assisted by the government, two were girls' schools, while in St. Lucia there were two secondary schools, one for boys and one for girls. However, a male bias was evident in the numbers of scholarships

available for boys relative to girls. For example, in Grenada, six scholarships were awarded annually, tenable for five years to boys from primary schools, while four scholarships tenable for four years were awarded to girls to each of the girls' schools. In St. Lucia, ten scholarships were awarded to boys from primary schools. There is no evidence of similar awards to girls. Enrolment figures in St. Lucia varied, with a bias in favour of boys. In 1900, the enrolment for boys was recorded as 76 compared with 25 for girls. Grenada, however, presents a more favourable picture for girls, with equal numbers (30) in the boys' and girls' non-denominational schools and 70 girls in the denominational girls' school.[16] Only one secondary school existed in St. Vincent during this period and this combined both boys' and girls' departments. The figures reveal, however, that although there were more girls than boys initially, over a four year period their numbers steadily declined relative to boys.[17]

The differential expenditure on boys' schools relative to girls' further reflects the official ideology. In Barbados, Queen's College received a grant of £400 per annum while Harrison College was allocated £1,000 per annum. In Trinidad-Tobago, government expenditure on the three boys' schools totalled £6,800, but as noted earlier, the girls' school received no financial assistance from the state. In Grenada, the boys' school received a fixed grant of £250 and an additional £5 per scholar based on results, while the two girls' schools received a government grant-in-aid of £2 per scholar per annum not to exceed £100 altogether in each case. In St. Lucia, the boys' school was given a subsidy of £200 while the subsidy for the girls' school was £50 per annum. In St. Vincent, the government provided a grant of £100 in aid of a boys' department, £20 towards the salary of an assistant master, and £2 per head per annum towards the salary of a mistress. The relatively lower tuition fees for girls vis-à-vis boys at all levels in the school hierarchy indicates that girls' education must have been devalued, perhaps due to the absence of science courses.

The Curriculum

Education is said to take on a distinctly vocational character at the secondary level as adolescents prepare to make the transition from school to work. Subject specializations appear in the upper forms and students are allowed options, it is claimed, in conformity with their aptitude and interests. Nineteenth century secondary education offered few options to either sex. Upper class boys

destined for the higher professions were constrained to follow a classical education with generous exposure to Latin and Greek in order to "impart to him that indescribable something which we call 'culture'" [Mitchinson Report 19 p.26]. For middle class boys 'destined for a commercial life', a second grade education was of supreme importance according to the Bree Commission of 1896. Girls, on the other hand, were destined to be good wives and mothers.

The secondary school curriculum reflected this thinking. Needlework was obligatory in all girls' schools and domestic economy was offered in some. The stereotype of the illogical female evident in the primary school curriculum was reinforced at the secondary level. For example, in Grenada, the curriculum for girls differed from boys in the exclusion of Latin, English and Greek but included drawing as an option for girls as well as drill exercises [Special Reports 24]. Moreover, the age of leaving school was lower for girls than boys, since girls were destined for marriage and tended to marry at an earlier age than boys. It is not surprising therefore, that even when subjects such as shorthand and book-keeping were introduced in Barbados, they were offered at one of the island's largest boys' schools, a second grade school for boys "destined for a commercial life".

The Education of Teachers

The same underlying assumptions about gender differentiation which marked education at the primary and secondary levels appear to have informed the education of teachers. At this time primary school teachers were recruited generally by way of the pupil teacher system. Stringent moral codes defined the teacher's role. In St. Lucia, pupil teachers were to be of the same sex as the principal teacher of the school. The Code of Regulations for Barbados stipulated that "married women were not to be regarded as suitable persons to be teachers except under special circumstances" [Special Reports 24 p.48] although it is well known that teaching provided the principal means of mobility for lower class men and women alike. Perhaps it was because of this that men exceeded women in the teaching service. And yet the view of the woman as mother made her the most eligible candidate for infant teaching. It was only at this level that women teachers out-numbered men. At the higher levels such as Class 1 or at the level of headteacher, men far exceeded women.

Sex discrimination was evident throughout the islands in the relatively lower salaries paid to women teachers vis-a-vis men. It is interesting to note that although at one time women teachers in Barbados were paid on the same scale as men, by the end of the 19th century the Code was amended so that "all new female teachers receive only 75 per cent of what a male teacher would receive under similar conditions" [Special Reports 24 p.53]. The reasoning behind this retrogressive step was that the male teacher had to support a family. On the other hand, female teachers were required to be single and therefore had no families to support, a view totally out of keeping with the realities of the West Indian family situation where women shouldered economic responsibility and, even though single, would have had claims on their income from the extended kinship group.

The curriculum and examination procedures for teachers throughout the territories followed a similar pattern to what obtained in the primary and secondary schools. Generally speaking, the curriculum specified mensuration and principles of agriculture for men, and needlework, household management, and washing for women. The theory of the woman as the intellectual antithesis of the man was again maintained and further borne out in the examination procedures. For example, women were allowed to omit English and algebra but were examined in an undefined subject called thrift. In arithmetic, men were examined at more difficult levels while the cut off point for the award of honours to women was 50 marks below that of men.

As can be seen from the above, 19th century teacher education in the Caribbean provided little opportunity for the mobility of female teachers in a predominantly man's world. Women were earmarked to be infant teachers or teachers of domestic subjects. The prevailing ideology of the woman as mother, homemaker, and child rearer was carried to its logical conclusion in an education syllabus marked by rigid distinctions between mutually exclusive subjects *for men or women only* in keeping with the division of labour evident in the wider society.

Education in the 20th Century - 1902-1945

The early 20th century saw increasing attempts on the part of colonial governments to reform education in the colonies [Gordon 11 p.109]. According to Gordon, paucity of funds contributed in no small measure to frustrate the implementation of recommendations designed to improve education and to make it more efficient. Major concerns at

this time included the poor physical condition of primary schools, the inadequacy of teacher training facilities, dissatisfaction with the pupil teacher system as an answer to the provision of good teachers, and the irrelevance of the curriculum for the needs of the various colonies. In the light of these pressing problems it is hardly surprising that "there was little talk of educational principle" [Gordon 11 p.108].

It was against this background that the Marriott-Mayhew Commission was appointed in 1932 to investigate the problems of secondary and primary education in Trinidad, Barbados, the Leeward and Windward Islands. Their report represents a landmark in the educational history of the West Indies, not only because of its regional coverage, but also because of the range of issues raised and the attempt to examine the provisions in terms of its relevance for the twin objectives of human and societal development.

One recurrent theme of this report was the need for a solid primary education for all West Indian children, with emphasis on "training the child for service to the community" [Marriott-Mayhew 25 p.65]. A certain basic realism is evident in the proposals to limit primary education to 6 years, i.e. between the ages of 6 and 12 in the interest of efficiency and economy. According to the report, primary school education was intended principally for a rural and agricultural population hence the curriculum should be simplified, concentrating on sound literacy and numeracy as well as nature study and agriculture.

However commendable these proposals might have been, I would like to suggest that the commissioners showed little imagination when it considered the education of girls. In other words, the proposals did not vary substantially from 19th century thinking. Nevertheless, some commendation is due to the commissioners for the interest they took in women's education. In this respect they noted:

> We were disappointed at the comparatively slight interest shown by many of our male witnesses on this subject and at the very inadequate representation of women on boards of education and inspection staff. As a result of this indifference and lack of administrative influence and support, very little is being done outside Trinidad to meet *the special needs of girls in primary education* [Marriott-Mayhew 25 p.19 emphasis mine].

Accordingly, separate proposals were made for the education of girls in primary and secondary schools.

The main proposal with respect to primary education was for the appointment of women "to organize and develop the teaching of domestic science and to raise the standard of infant class work" [p.109]. Thus they recommended that training facilities in infant training and domestic science be provided for two female teachers at the Central Training Institute in Trinidad. At the same time, male teachers were to be trained in manual training and nature study with garden work. The 'special needs' of girls, therefore, lay in the sphere of domestic work and motherhood. There appears to be an underlying assumption of a sexual division of labour, i.e. women's work as distinct from men's work. The education of girls conformed with activities inside the home such as child rearing and home making, while boys' education was to be more distinctly vocational and linked with paid labour outside the home.

In advocating co-educational schools, the commissioners may be said to have departed somewhat from the traditional thinking of the 19th century. But their support for these schools appears to have rested largely on economic rather than universalistic considerations in the sense that it would be better to concentrate finances on one good mixed school rather than two poor single sex schools. Beyond this, there is nothing to suggest that they intended to widen the range of subject options of girls as indicated by their curricular proposals for *girls' education* noted above. In other words, sex segregation in education by way of curricular differences continued to be supported even though girls and boys were physically located in the same building and in the same classroom.

An attempt was made, however, to introduce greater female participation in educational decision-making, having regard to the importance of teaching as a major avenue of employment for women. The report also has the distinction of drawing attention to the relatively lower salaries paid to female teachers vis-à-vis male teachers.[18] The question of lower salaries for females was not mooted before and it is to the credit of the commissioners that they raised the issue in spite of the fact that no complaints were brought on this matter. Perhaps correctly, they attributed this to the absence of a voice on behalf of female teachers in the Teachers' Association which provided much of the information on education to the commission. Accordingly, they recommended the appointment of a woman on each Board of Education in the hope that such an appointment would not only mobilize female opinion but also allow women some active participation in the educational decision-making process. It is doubtful, however, that women could have had any impact on curricular changes

for girls, as their sphere of influence was restricted to infant teaching, needlework and domestic science.

Secondary Education

The inadequacy of secondary education both in terms of school places as well as its dysfunctionality for the needs of the society appears as a major concern in this report. Although both sexes had access to secondary schools, fewer girls received any type of secondary education. One reason for this was that while there were 18 secondary schools for boys in the islands visited, there were only 14 for girls.[19] Completion of secondary schooling was even more precarious for girls. For example, in Barbados although in 1930 the difference in numbers between male and female candidates for the Cambridge Junior Certificate was as low as 76 in favour of boys, this difference increased to 133 for the Senior Certificate examination, as only 70 girls compared with 203 boys were offered as candidates for the Senior Certificate in that year. Thus although it can be readily admitted that secondary schooling was limited at this time for both sexes, girls tended to reap fewer benefits from the little that was provided, especially since there is nothing to suggest that they had lower ability than boys.

One of the innovations in this report was the proposal for a dual system of secondary education in the form of the classical grammar and the modern secondary school. The former was intended to cater to the academic and more literary type of pupil, while the latter would provide a primarily vocational education. The curricular proposals for the modern school are very pertinent to our understanding of the official ideology. For boys, two main types of courses were proposed viz., one type with an industrial or commercial bias, the other, an agricultural course. The former, specifically recommended for urban schools, was intended to prepare boys for skilled employment as carpenters, joiners, motor mechanics, construction workers, or in the field of commerce either at home or in Britain where "the immigration of skilled and properly educated workers from our West Indian Colonies is welcomed" [Marriott-Mayhew 25 p.89]. Agricultural training, on the other hand, was to be primarily oriented to rural areas in order to qualify boys for employment as estate managers, agricultural instructors in departments of agriculture or teachers in agricultural modern schools.

No such urban/rural distinction was proposed for girls for whom

> ...one type of modern school should suffice. Domestic science will be on the vocational side, the central feature of the courses, but in the senior course there should also be opportunities for studies with a commercial bias [p.89]..

Clearly the modern school was intended principally to provide full vocational training for boys and only part vocational training for girls. The fact that modern schools were to be situated in 'the headquarters towns' would have excluded most rural girls.[20] The fortunate ones who may have gained admission to these schools were to receive sex-related training mainly for domesticity, or, if they continued to the senior secondary grades, commercial studies, reflecting the recognition that as the societies advanced economically women could gain employment as clerks or secretaries in commerce.

The Moyne Commission

The Moyne Commission of 1939 which investigated social and economic conditions throughout the West Indies also directed its attention to the education of girls. Among other things the commissioners noted

> The present low status of women in the West Indies makes it the more important to secure essential equality of educational opportunity between the sexes. If there are to be happy marriages girls must be able to be companions to their husbands *and therefore need every opportunity for as wide a cultural education as possible* [Moyne 29 p.130 emphasis mine].

Although this statement introduced the ideology of egalitarianism, that is, that the education system should provide equal opportunity for boys and girls alike, it was not really intended to confront the sexual division of labour. The guiding principle for the education of girls continued to be informed by perceptions of women as civilizing agents so as to efficiently perform their functions as good wives and home-makers. The commissioners therefore recommended that play centres and nursery schools staffed by older primary school girls be attached to primary schools so that these girls would receive some training and experience in child welfare.

The above referred to lower class girls whose chances of attaining a secondary education at that time were minimal. It was conceded, however, that girls attending

secondary schools might wish to pursue a professional career depending on their ability and interests. Such girls were found to be disadvantaged both in terms of fewer school places, as well as a restricted curriculum. In this regard they noted

> It is also essential that girls anxious to enter the professions and capable of doing so should not be denied the necessary preliminary education. Complaints were made to us in evidence also of the difficulty of obtaining girls with the education necessary to enable them to enter the nursing profession. Further, many girls find it difficult to obtain the teaching in subjects such as Mathematics, Latin, Physics and Chemistry demanded by the scholarships regulations: in justice either the regulations should be modified as not to discriminate against girls, or the appropriate teaching should be made as readily available to them as to boys [Moyne 29 p.131].

Again we note some concern for equality of educational opportunity between the sexes, although it is doubtful whether access by girls to the subjects mentioned would have significantly improved their career options since there was no similar concern in the labour market.

Official Reports 1940-1945

The notion of "better vocational training for boys and better cultural education for girls" aptly sums up the official thinking behind educational provision during this period. In 1940, Hammond, Senior Education Commissioner for Barbados, argued that the principal aim of education was to provide the means to a better life. In articulating his position, Hammond proposed that a better life for West Indians involved 'better manners and better means of self assertion'. Education was the independent variable socializing pupils into values and techniques in order to effect these twin objectives. Ultimately, the socializing process would lead to greater unity and co-operation among people of diverse races and classes. Better manners would have a civilizing influence and techniques learnt in school would help its recipients to attain greater self-confidence. Since the main objective of colonial policy was to promote colonial civilization,[21] the school remained the best institution which could achieve this aim.

As far as Hammond was concerned, West Indian families on the whole, could not promote colonial civilization. Lacking as they were in conjugal morals and discipline,

characterized by sub-standard housing and "no cleanliness or amenity in the preparation and serving of food, no house pride and no family life worth the name..." [21 p.126], the need for the school to provide appropriate training was even more important.

Against this background, the major role of the woman was that of civilizing agent in an environment where women were still regarded as inferior beings. Even among educated men 'the man rides, the woman walks' [21 p.57]. At the same time, in championing the cause of women, Hammond was clear that their role was supportive. It was imperative, therefore, that not only should the sexual imbalance in favour of boys' education at the secondary level be corrected, but also

> If it were necessary to choose between them, it would be better to provide more of this kind of education for girls, giving them as wide a range of interest, domestic, social, and artistic as possible, and the influence of teachers of the best obtainable quality. Women set the tone of social intercourse, *and women make the homes and the mental climate in which children are raised.* A boy brought up in a cultivated home will not lack cultivated interests even if his schooling is less generous than could be wished, and his interests are likely to be stimulated further if he wishes to marry an intelligently educated girl [Hammond 21 p.74 emphasis mine].

As in Victorian England, marriage was the true vocation of women and child-rearing their main function. Hence, the specific proposals with respect to girls' education included practical training in mothercraft where older girls could attend to the physical and educational needs of younger school children thus gaining valuable experience for their future roles.

Stockdale [28] echoed similar sentiments as Hammond and made similar proposals. For him, the proper educational policy was "to provide demonstration and practice in child care and the provision of opportunities for healthy educational play as far as possible identical with the child care that could be given in small homes in the West Indies" [p.68]. In this regard, play centres should be attached to senior departments of elementary schools so that older girls would learn the essentials of housecraft and child rearing with the experience of live children rather than mere theoretical concepts. Here we see a specific reference to the role of the woman as mother and home-maker. There was, however, another purpose behind this proposal,

which was to effect savings on personal emoluments by using older girls, at no cost, to do a job normally done by professional teachers. It may be argued that such a proposal was possible because of the generally low employment status and career options open to women in these societies. Hence, the use of girls in this way was unlikely to raise questions about the exploitation of women, especially since the motives accorded with the prevailing norms about sex related activities.

The woman's domestic role was further specified in the proposals dealing with the establishment of rural schools. The primary focus of these schools was to be agricultural with provisions for a mixed farm. Here girls' roles were highly circumscribed in the distinction between girls' and boys' activities. The report proposed *inter alia* that

> The vegetable produce of the farm will be sent to the school kitchen where the girls will learn better ways of preparing those foods... The girls will take part with the boys in the tasks that should normally fall to a woman in a homestead... Both boys' and girls' handicraft will similarly centre on the home and homestead and the boys may well learn to build model houses in local materials [p.69].

In other words, in keeping with the sex stereotype, girls were perceived as engaging in less physically strenuous activities within the home, while the manually dexterous tasks outside the homes were reserved for boys.

Female education for domesticity extended to the secondary level as well. Stockdale correctly recognized the danger of over-emphasizing academic education and certification and made a strong plea for pre-vocational training for industry and agriculture. Nevertheless, girls' vocational training was to be mainly in the domestic sphere, while their general education should centre around aesthetics "for the women make the homes and the tone of society and influence very greatly the interests of the men they marry and the sons they bear" [p.78] - a view almost identical with that of Hammond mentioned above.[22] In both cases, the emphasis is overwhelmingly on the mother's civilizing influence on her sons as no mention is made of her daughters. The implication is that the woman's role assumes its greatest importance in the rearing of her sons.

In 1945, Howard Hayden, the newly appointed Director of Education in Barbados evaluated the educational system in that country, providing insights into the differential

educational outcomes with respect to the sexes. For example, it was noted that the results of elementary school girls were slightly better than boys in all subjects, although this difference was maintained in English only at the secondary level.[23] However, Hayden noted that girls were disadvantaged in terms of secondary schooling and argued that girls' education should receive priority in educational expansion.[24]

Although concerned about the under representation of girls at the secondary level, Hayden's proposals for the allocation of scholarships to secondary schools and the provision of vocational education outside of the school shows a clear bias in favour of boys. Twelve scholarships to first grade schools were recommended, of which seven were to be awarded to boys and five to girls. The difference is even more startling in the recommendation for second grade schools where out of 71 scholarships proposed, only 26 were to be awarded to girls. In other words, inequality of educational opportunity was higher for lower class girls than middle class girls, since second grade education was aimed primarily at the former.

The fact that education did not necessarily equip lower class children with skills appeared to give girls an advantage over boys in terms of employment after school, as many of them went into paid domestic service. However, on closer examination, this was not really an advantage as domestic employment was not only low paying but did not require any particular training, nor did it offer possibilities for self improvement.

Throughout the period under consideration vocational training for girls continued to centre around housecraft, including instruction in laundering, dress-making, basketry, millinery and child management, and, to a lesser extent, commercial studies in secondary schools.[25] Although there was no lack of concern with girls' education both in terms of level and content, solutions proposed were along traditional lines in terms of education primarily for motherhood and only secondarily and to a limited extent, for a career outside of the home.[26]

Conclusion

In this paper, I have shown that the education of females in the territories under consideration was predicated on the ideological assumption of the woman as wife, mother and homemaker. Consequently, the provision of such education was circumscribed by the view that the woman's

career inhered in her sexual, childrearing and caring roles. The instruction of girls was conducted mainly in segregated circumstances and curricular options restricted them to subjects which, it was felt, would enhance their ability to perform these roles.

Educational development is closely associated with economic development and labour market trends. Traditional societies with a subsistence level economy had little use for schools as we know them. It was not until the advent of capitalism that there was a call for universal education in Western societies. Theorists of a Marxist persuasion attribute this development to the demands of the capitalist mode of production which relies for its survival on a docile and pliant labour force appropriately socialized into the norms and values crucial for the reproduction of a hierarchical division of labour. The educational system, it is argued,is central for the maintenance and legitimation of an unequal social order and is manipulated by the ruling capitalist class in order to maintain its hegemony [See e.g. Bowles and Gintis 3; Althusser 1].

Since capitalism requires healthy, able-bodied men to provide adequate wage labour, they must be freed from the tasks of child-rearing and domestic chores. Women thus become crucial in the reproduction of the labour force as well as the production of home services. It is as well to note that women's subordinate status did not emerge under capitalism. There is abundant anthropological evidence of the relative inferiority of women vis-à-vis men in pre-capitalist societies. However, the promise of capitalism of rewarding the deserving has not been fulfilled for men and women alike. In the new dispensation, women's work was conceptualized as tasks associated with domesticity to be provided free of charge. In pure economic terms, women's work was devalued, thus it is not surprising that employment opportunities for them tended to be in the lowest paid occupational sector.

Capitalist development had important implications for the education of women in the West Indies. Whereas in the pre-capitalist society female education was not a priority, it became imperative under capitalism that girls be given a 'cultural and aesthetic education' in order to effectively perform their socializing roles as wives, mothers and teachers. It was never intended to educate women as a preparation for an independent career in the period under review. The fact that, as early as the mid 19th century, Barbadian women pursued independent business careers in areas such as dressmaking, food preservation, running

guest houses and family businesses attest to their resilience and ability rather than to adequate educational preparation [Brodber 5]. According to Brodber, however, these women would have come from the middle-class coloured groups.

For the majority of black lower class women no such outlets existed. Education became the main avenue of social mobility for them although mobility was restricted to the sex-related occupations of teaching and nursing where they were paid lower salaries than their male counterparts. Yet in order for women to pursue careers, they had to suppress what was widely considered to be their lone vocation - marriage and motherhood. In other words, they had to become 'men' since marriage and child-bearing operated as a negative factor to their continued employment on the assumption that there was a conflict of interests between their marital and professional roles. Thus, desire to fulfil the role for which they were socialized would have limited their pursuit of whatever higher education was available.

In spite of their relatively inferior education, West Indian women appear to have participated in large numbers, both in the formal and informal occupational sectors. The 1911 census data for Barbados reveal that women predominated in the formal occupational sector as agricultural labourers on the plantations and in domestic service (See Appendix 1). On the other hand, a sizable proportion employed themselves in the informal sector as milliners, hawkers, pedlars and laundresses. It can be seen, however, that in both sectors women occupied a subordinate status. There were no female heads of government departments, doctors or lawyers, and female employment in both sectors appears to have been sex related, that is, in areas traditionally associated with their sex. A close relationship therefore can be said to have existed between women's education and women's occupation. The fact that female education tended to end for most girls at primary level, combined with a sex based curriculum guided by assumptions about men's work as distinct from women's work greatly curtailed their eligibility for jobs in the civil service and professions and relegated the majority of them to earn their livelihood in menial, low paying jobs such as domestics or agricultural labourers, or in low status, marginal self-employment as hawkers.

Educational expansion in the early to mid 20th century, though introducing the ideology of equality of opportunity for both sexes, did not appreciably alter the position of women, although the availability of more

secondary school places did open up avenues of mobility for some, albeit, as mentioned earlier, at the expense of a denial of their maternal instincts. Rather, it may be argued that expansion institutionalized sexism as the curriculum became more and more specialized and vocational in content [Wolpe 16]. Whether today's woman has been able to overcome these barriers is a matter for further research.

Footnotes

[1]The author gratefully acknowledges the research assistance of Margaret Gill, Diane Cummins and Averille White of the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Cave Hill, Barbados.

[2]Bordieu [2 pp.190-191] gives a central role to the school as well as the family for the transmission of culture and its contribution to cultural consensus.

[3]Papers dealing specifically with the situation in Jamaica and Trinidad have been written by other researchers in the project. See Pat Mohammed (this volume) and Hermione McKenzie, "Women in Education: A Factual Review".

[4]The oldest educational institutions at the secondary level are recorded for Barbados in 1721 and 1733. These were grammar schools for boys - Codrington College, The Lodge School and Harrison College.

[5]For example, in St. Lucia by the end of the 19th century the number of boys on roll exceeded that of girls - 3,483 boys to 3,272 girls. The difference was more marked for Barbados as the following reveals:

Primary and Combined School Pupils taking Examinations

Year	Boys	Girls
1893	4,962	4,241
1896	5,407	4,515

Source: Official Gazette, July 1894, July - December edition, Barbados.

[6]This is not to deny the importance of the document for its contribution to the education of girls.

[7]Second grade schools are distinguished from first grade schools in terms of duration of schooling and curriculum content.

[8]The Bree Commission, appointed in Barbados to enquire and report upon the subject of education in the island, endorsed many of the recommendations of the Mitchinson Report.

[9]Middle class girls did have an opportunity to attend secondary schools while lower class girls were largely restricted to primary schools when they did receive an education.

[10]Boys to be sent to the Industrial School included vagrants, beggars or those frequently found in the company of thieves or prostitutes and who were between the ages of 10 to 16.

[11]Perhaps this is a factor in the relatively lower achievement of girls in mathematics today. For supporting evidence, see Byrne [6] p.35.

[12]Barbados appears unique in its distinction between first grade and second grade education, a distinction which though officially dropped today still prevails in the minds of many Barbadians.

[13]For example, Queen's College girls were only prepared for the Senior Cambridge Local Honours' Certificate as well as drawing and needlework examinations. On the other hand, boys in first grade schools were trained for Open University Scholarships.

[14]These were Queen's Royal College, St. Mary's College and Naparima College for boys, and St. Joseph's Convent for girls. When one considers the size of Trinidad - Tobago relative to Barbados, the differences between these two countries with respect to the provision of secondary education at this time are even starker.

[15]The oldest secondary school for girls was St. Joseph's Convent, established in 1836. By the end of the 19th century there were some five upper class private girls' secondary schools in Trinidad.

[16]Since this school, St. Joseph's Convent, was a boarding school, it is more than likely that this number included girls from upper class families from neighbouring islands and may be misleading as far as Grenadian girls' education is concerned.

[17]The figures are as follows:

Secondary School Enrolment, St. Vincent

Year	Boys	Girls
1897	11	15
1898	16	7
1899	25	15
1900	30	19

See Special Reports [24, p.365].

[18]It was noted, for example, that some trained women teachers in Antigua had not received appointments for three years owing to budgetary restrictions.

[19]The total enrolment in the boys' schools was 2,180 compared with 1,519 in the girls' schools.

[20]The same could be said for rural boys. However, the range of curricular options was wider for all boys.

[21]It is to Hammond's credit that he recognized the need to incorporate aspects of African culture such as art, song and dance into the education of colonials.

[22]Hammond made similar proposals for the reorganization of schools in St. Lucia where girls would receive training in housecraft and boys in agriculture and manual skills.

[23]It is interesting to note that Hayden felt it necessary to cite 'the appearance of girls in every secondary school' as one of the admirable features of education in Barbados. See Hayden [22,23].

[24]At this time, while there were 1,543 boys receiving secondary education, only 878 girls were similarly accommodated, a factor, no doubt, related to the greater number of boys' schools.

[25]The Colonial Development and Welfare reports all emphasized the need for training in these areas.

[26]Even here, the intention was for girls with secondary education to enter the caring professions such as teaching and nursing. See Despatch [26].

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Appendix I

CENSUS DATA FOR BARBADOS SHOWING
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION, BY SEX, 1911

	Male	Female
Professionals		
Artists	4	1
Photographers	9	-
Authors	-	1
Dentists	18	-
Editors and Journalists	11	-
Engineers	11	-
Land Surveyors	3	-
Law	32	-
Medicine	59	-
Ministers of Religion	75	1
Reporters	10	-
TOTAL	232	3
Officials		
Attendants in Hospitals etc.	64	96
Fire Brigade	25	-
Heads of Public Depts. & Clerks	184	7
Other Civil Service	538	-
Imperial Dept. of Agriculture	7	1
Parochial and Poor Relief Employees	100	50
Other Official	8	-
TOTAL	926	154
Miscellaneous		
Musicians	14	2
Organists	8	8
Preachers and Missionaries	10	14
Matrons, Midwives & Nurses	-	61
Other Miscellaneous	60	-
Variously Employed	115	70
Not Stated	144	374
TOTAL	351	529

Continued .../

Appendix I

	Male	Female
Industrial		
Bakers	288	6
Basket Makers	40	1
Cake Makers	9	195
Cigar Makers	41	3
Female Confectioners	-	12
Dairy Employees	7	6
Engineers	564	-
Fancy Workers	3	96
Joiners	119	1
Labourers	829	637
Laundresses	-	3,444
Mat Makers	2	1
Milliners	-	10,596
Pastry Cooks	2	22
Pickle and Preserve Makers	-	6
Printers and Compositors	197	20
Upholsters	14	3
Fishermen	1,101	-
Other Industrial	8,893	6
TOTAL	12,109	15,055
Educational		
Governesses	-	4
Music Teachers	1	32
School Principals - Public	235	245
School Principals - Private	37	269
Private Scholars	2,053	2,751
Public Scholars	15,143	14,216
Tutors at Codrington College	2	-
TOTAL	17,471	17,517

Continued .../

Appendix I

	Male	Female
Domestic		
Butlers	325	618
Cooks	132	5,129
Gardeners	262	33
General	1,541	8,206
Housekeepers	-	250
Maids	-	1,480
Nurses	-	623
Wives and Daughters engaged in Domestic Duties	-	5,863
Other	1,410	6
Not Stated	41	343
TOTAL	3,711	22,551
Commercial		
Accountants	73	8
Bottlers and Bottle Washers	15	6
Clerks	1,134	393
Hawkers and Pedlars	270	5,784
Hotel and Boarding House-Keepers	13	22
Interpreters	4	1
Livery Stable Keepers	4	2
Shop Attendants	40	16
Shop Keepers	538	456
Speculators	378	10
Stamp Vendors	1	2
Telegraph Co. Employees	8	1
Telephone " "	6	17
Undertakers	8	2
Other	2,842	-
TOTAL	5,334	6,720
Agricultural		
Labourers	14,216	22,017
Managers of Plantations	345	1
Other Employees	616	1
Proprietors of land 5 acres and under	228	125
Proprietors of land over 5 acres	109	32
Proprietors of land not stated	1	1
TOTAL	15,515	22,177

Source: Boyce [20].

PATRICIA MOHAMMED

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF WOMEN IN TRINIDAD-TOBAGO 1946-1980

Introduction

This paper attempts to avoid two pitfalls of sociological analysis.[1] The first is that of a high level of abstraction which adds little to our understanding of social phenomena. The second is the simple recounting of events and statistical data within an ahistorical framework, which takes little account of conditions specific to a particular situation. The study of the educational position of women in Trinidad-Tobago in the post-World War II period to the present is therefore approached on a *structural* level. It attempts to examine the educational structure as it articulates with other structures (polity, economy, culture, ideology) within a particular social formation.[2] Discussion at this level does not exclude examination of the educational structure at two other levels at which the sociological analysis of education can proceed.[3] These are at the *institutional* level or the formal arrangements of the educational institution and its intended effects on society, and the *interactional* level, that is, staff-pupil interaction in the classroom as it reflects the actual achievements of the institution, mediated by other structures within the society. Essentially, the three levels are only analytically distinct, since they interrelate to form the totality of the educational structure. The paucity of data at the two latter levels, however, has prescribed the bias given to the former level.

Key considerations arise in our approach to the study of the educational position of women.[4] We must ask, under what conditions has the educational structure emerged in this society? And, which structures have interacted to determine its character, growth and change over time? The persistent theme throughout is, of course, the changing situation of women relative to men. To answer these questions the study addresses itself to the following areas:

Section I: *Economics and Politics: The Dynamics of Change* examines historically the origin and present structures of the social formation.

Section II: *Education for Development and the Development of Education* focuses on the development of the educational structure, especially noting the ideological bases of its development.

Section III: *The Education of Women* looks at the educational performance of women and men briefly in the pre-war era and in more detail from 1946 to the present.

Section IV: *Women's Education for Women's Work* brings together the preceding sections with an examination of women's work in the economy.

Finally, Section V: *Theoretical and Policy Considerations* points out some of the theoretical considerations which have informed the study, and suggests areas for research and development of Women's Studies in the Caribbean.

I: Economics and Politics: The Dynamics of Change

The present study is located within the political and economic developments of post-war Trinidad-Tobago. To understand the nature of the economy and development of the state in this period, it is necessary to examine their historical antecedents in the pre-war era.

Trinidad was discovered in 1498 by Spanish explorers and remained a dependency of that empire until 1797 when it was captured by the British. Some years prior to this there was an influx of French families from Martinique, Guadeloupe and Haiti, accompanied by their African slaves. Politically, Trinidad began its association with the British empire as a crown colony, servicing the welfare of the British state and completely controlled by that power.

The economy was dominated by agriculture. Sugar cane was the leading cash crop, followed by cocoa, and the largest plantations were owned by either British or French planters. When slavery was abolished and the slaves emancipated in 1838, sugar was still an important source of revenue in Trinidad, while declining in the neighbouring British West Indian colonies. To relieve the labour problem which now threatened the fortunes of the sugar industry, freed Negroes from the neighbouring islands were encouraged. The more viable prospect, however, was the introduction of a large wave of indentured labourers from India, and smaller numbers from China, Portugal and several European countries. By the time the system of indentureship was terminated in 1917, East Indians and Africans constituted the largest ethnic divisions in the society - which, by this time, had become greatly diversified through the penetrations of the various cultural groups.

It must be noted that the island of Tobago can only be jointly discussed with Trinidad from 1899, the year in which it was made a ward of Trinidad. Tobago itself changed hands frequently between the French and the British in the early 18th and 19th centuries. It is peopled by descendants of Negro slaves and since the abolition of slavery has had a history of peasant proprietorship.

In 1910, oil was discovered in Trinidad in commercial quantities, and by the following decade the oil industry, also under British control, provided employment for many labourers of African descent; the agricultural sector was largely dominated by the East Indians.

By the 1930s very little had changed. Economically, a dual structure existed with local economic interests being pitted unequally aginst British economic interests. This

> took the form of an agricultural sector of cocoa, coconut, and small food-crop local farmers and an industrial sector of capitalist-style sugar estates and burgeoning oil well investments owned largely by absentee English investors, with the import and export channels controlled, in turn, by the Port-of-Spain mercantile capitalist class, the majority of whose members, apart from the Chinese, Portuguese, Indian retail shopkeepers, were likewise wealthy Englishmen [Lewis 25 pp.199-200].

Politically, it was the British conviction that, "the people of Trinidad were not fitted by their personal qualities, character and education to exercise such an important privilege as self-government on English lines" [Lewis 25 p.199].

This pattern of foreign domination of the political and economic structures had its pervasive influence on the ideological superstructure. It was reflected in the racist ideology and racial conflict which pervaded the society. Everything foreign and white was considered superior to local effort. Thus the social hierarchy was determined by colour and wealth, the principal classes being the white British colonial administrators, the white local bourgeosie, followed by the coloured (mixed) professional middle class, the black urban proletariat and the East Indian agro-proletariat and peasantry. The educational structure emulated that of the British and accommodated the needs of the colonial administrators. The ideological role of women was also imported into Trinidad society and was sadly misplaced, given the different relationship to the

means of production which obtained among the majority of women there. Only the wives and daughters of the upper classes could be identified with this imported role. For most women, especially those of African and East Indian descent, economic survival for themselves and their families could only be ensured through sale of their labour power or through various forms of self-employment.[5]

The forces of change were clearly evident by the 1940s and Britain could no longer indulge in her *laissez-faire* economic policy in the colonies. Internationally, her empire was considerably weakened by her efforts in World War II, and further crippled by the anti-colonial struggles taking place throughout this empire. These struggles were manifest in Trinidad society from the dock strikes of 1919 to the Butler riots of 1937. Britain responded to unrest throughout the West Indies by appointing the Moyne Commission whose recommendations on welfare and development, trade unionism and universal adult suffrage were implemented by 1946. The era of decolinization had arrived and the stage was set for a change of actors.

Politically, the post-war period ushered in movements for constitutional reform achieved in Trinidad-Tobago by 1950. Of primary political importance, however, was the year 1956 which saw the formation, growth and coming to power of the Peoples National Movement (PNM), led by Dr. Eric Williams. This movement represented not only the achievement of responsible self-government, but the rise of the professional middle class - the class of 'black intellectuals', whose opportunities for education in the past decades had prepared them for this role. By 1959, full internal self-government was granted, and with independence in 1962, British colonialism formally came to an end.

The Trinidad-Tobago economy had been boosted by the war, additionally so by the American occupation of bases in north Trinidad which stimulated urban migration and employment in services and other occupations for many men and women. By the end of the war, American economic expansion had made her the dominant power in the capitalist world and she was now seeking new fields to continue her expansion. Trinidad-Tobago, her strongest ties with Britain severed, and entrusted with self-government, opened her economy to foreign (mainly American) capital, through the 'industrialization by invitation' policy advocated by Arthur Lewis. The local state, no longer a welfare colony of the British empire, found it necessary to stimulate internal economic growth by diversifying the economic base.

The democratic and economic policies of the new state had to be buttressed by a new ideology for its survival. The emphasis now moved from racial disharmony and white ethnocentricity to the equality of all races, a national identity and the building of a nation state. The ideology of meritocracy had thus replaced that of ascription.

Politically, decision-making was in the hands of the new government which comprised local persons. State intervention in the expansion of the economy also meant the growth of state civil services and state welfare, and the gradual state ownership and control of public utilities. In economic terms this meant expenditure in these areas and the creation of employment opportunities for nationals. The thrust of the economic policy to provide revenues for this increased expenditure was towards the invitiation of foreign capital. The long run aim of this policy was the generation of self-sustained growth within the economy through employment opportunities, and transfer of foreign expertise, entrepreneurship and technology. The result of its implementation was a proliferation of assembly-type and manufacturing industries, dependent on importation of all the former factors of production and including that of raw materials, but reliant on the large pool of cheap surplus labour readily available.

By 1971, the failure of this policy to create any real change was evident. In an evaluation of the economy in that year, Carrington [5] wrote, "if the share of manufacturing in domestic production is taken as an indicator of economic transformation, it seems little or no progress has been made". The annual average rate of growth achieved between 1951 and 1961 was 8.7 per cent in real terms. Another relevant measure, the national income per head measured in constant prices showed a rate of growth of 3.6 per cent a year between 1952-1960 and 2.8 per cent between 1961-1968 [Farrell 10 p.12], the latter a negligible figure in real terms. Unemployment, a major concern of the new government in 1956, had grown from 6.5 per cent in that year to between 10 and 14 per cent in 1979, with an even higher rate of growth in female unemployment.

The downswing in the world capitalist economy in the early 1970s was felt very keenly in Trinidad-Tobago, which by now was servicing its economy from deficit accounts. The rise of oil prices in 1973, as a result of the decisior of the Arab States to use their oil resources as a political weapon in their conflict with Israel, provided

the most opportune fillip to the economy. In economic terms, between 1973 and 1976, current revenue from oil production increased from $591m. to $2,024m. Oil revenues provided 21.9 per cent of total government revenues in 1973 and 59.5 per cent in 1976, contributing 28.6 per cent to total GDP in 1973 and 48.3 per cent in 1976. The balance of payments position of the country changed from a deficit of $30.6m. in 1973 to a surplus of $401.7m. in 1976 [CSO 50 pp.4-5]. This strong financial position has tempted the country to finance a capital expansion and development programme (Point Lisas Industrial Complex) which is meant to take up the slack in revenue when oil revenues or prices fall, in the meantime generating employment and growth in the economy. Much of the technology, raw material and capital for this project is foreign so that once again the links to the international capitalist economy and ties with imperialism are manifest in the society.

The ideology of equal opportunity, democracy and meritocracy nurtured by the capitalist state, was also reflected in the educational structure, best seen in the granting of free secondary education by 1961. The idea of universally free education was to fulfil two goals. First, the educational institutions were to produce a literate, pliant and skilled labour force to service the needs of the public sector and industrial demands. Second, education provided the means of educating the masses to become better citizens, while supposedly ameliorating class differences by its implicit ideological base. It was evident by the 1970s that there were ideological differences between the economic interests of the state and the labouring masses.[6] The aspirations of the average working class educated youth could not be realized in a system which could not solve its internal contradictions. Other contradictions in the system were apparent in the problems brought on by the interplay with the cultural superstructure. In the political and economic spheres, racial disunity between the ethnic divisions was courted and traded on by the ruling class. Racial divisions were clearly marked in patterns of settlement, choice of occupations and industries. Sexism, an integral part of cultural structures, was yet another contradiction in the system which could be used advantageously. Our study of women in the educational structure must clearly be examined in the context of class and cultural differences which characterize the society.

II: Education For Development and the Development of Education

At this point we trace the development of educational policy and the educational institution within the framework of the economic and political developments previously described. Special emphasis is given to defining changes in the policy on female education, both explicitly and implicitly.

Education in the pre-emancipation West Indies was essentially education for the white and privileged classes. Popular education was only introduced formally into the colonies through the Negro Education Act, embodied in the Act of Emancipation of 1834. Popular education was seen by the abolitionists as necessary to provide the freed slaves with the knowledge of the social requirements for their absorption into a free society. Affiliations to Christianity and the colonial order influenced the choice of curricula and method of schooling thought suitable for the local population.

The year 1851 marked the beginning of a systematic consideration of education for the island of Trinidad.[7] This was due to the efforts of Lord Harris, then governor of the island who proposed a system of primary education under secular control. Public secondary education for boys was first introduced in 1859 through the establishment of the Queens Collegiate school, by the government. Under the Education Ordinance of 1870 three more secondary schools for boys were established. Ironically, although secondary education for girls had been officially available since 1836, in which year the St. Joseph's Convent school for girls was established, it was selectively geared for the daughters of wealthy landowners or important civil administrators. The type of education offered was in keeping with the mood of the time. The girls were to be taught the rudiments of reading and writing, were to be conversant in French, and schooled in the feminine skills of housekeeping, embroidering and so on. Only in 1911, through an amendment to the Education Ordinance of 1870, was St. Joseph's made the first public secondary school for girls.

In 1869, Lord Keenan recommended a system of dual control of education, placing part of the control in the hands of the church. The legitimation of church intervention in the educational structure then, and up to the present, has had implications for the education of women, as we shall see. In 1916, the *Report of the Education Commission* recommended that the institutions be wholly

administered by one education board, rather than separate bodies for elementary and secondary schools. This new board was to continue to represent the different religious denominations in the colony.

Thus popular education appeared to be firmly established by this time. It was, however, geared mainly towards servicing the needs of the colonial state and privileged classes as the curriculum and selectivity of enrolment confirm. The curriculum was largely imported from Britain and was inappropriate to the needs of the *wider* community. Wider is emphasized here since education was directed at the few - the children of planters and colonial administrators and a small number of the local (mainly male) population through a scholarship system. Also imported was the British notion of how women were to be educated. This was still largely Victorian so that their education was not meant to be equal to that of men. Essentially they were to be fitted for the role of housewife and companion.

Between 1916 and 1933, there was very little change in ideas in education for Trinidad-Tobago and the rest of the Caribbean region. In 1933 the report of a commission appointed to consider the problems of primary and secondary education in Trinidad, Barbados, the Leeward and Windward Islands [62] examined the few positive developments which had taken place in this period. Based on their findings of similar facilities offered to both sexes, they concluded that the educational policy for girls was as favourable as that for boys. The growth of the oil industry and other small industrial concerns in Trinidad had placed vocational education on the agenda for that country, but this was to be directed mainly to the male population. The occupational and social roles of women of all classes were still clearly defined and mirrored in the educational system. Thus the Commission could report that

> the development of domestic science teaching might bring about some change if it could be brought home to parents that it has a practical as well as educational value. By the development of infant welfare and public health work, by requiring high qualifications for nurses and by making that profession more attractive, the medical authorities could add to the careers open to educated girls and stimulate the demand for education. But the development of a healthier public opinion on the subject must necessarily be gradual and will depend on the attitude of the educated male public and the influence of the Churches. We have emphasized the bearing of hygiene and biological teaching on questions of sex morality ... generally in this connection

> we can say that healthy relations between the sexes are attainable only in a society which recognizes the supreme importance of women's education [62 para.240].

While the idea of educating women was becoming more acceptable, the form this education took was to prepare women for the role of homemaker, mother and wife, or to fit them for occupations which were extensions of this role. By the next few years, the report of the Moyne Commission [65] was to address the internal contradictions brought on by implanting this structure in Trinidad-Tobago, not only for the structure as a whole, but also for the special position of women. We can recall that the historical prelude to this commission was the labour disturbances in the British colonies in the third decade of the 20th century. The commission's recommendations pertaining to education thus arose from the recognizable limitations in the existing structure. The main deficiencies found were poor schooling accommodation, an inadequate number of teachers and a defective teacher training system, irrelevant curricula which adhered far too closely to British models, and the problems inherent in a shared administration of schools between government and denominational bodies. For the first time also, the ideology of equal opportunity for both sexes was introduced into the colonies. They write,

> the present low status of women in the West Indies makes it the more important to secure essential equality of educational opportunity between the sexes [para.103].

and

> it is also essential that girls anxious to enter the professions and capable of doing so should not be denied the necessary preliminary education... many girls find it difficult to obtain the teaching in subjects such as mathematics, Latin, physics and chemistry demanded by the scholarship regulations; in justice either the regulations should be so modified as not to discriminate against girls, or the appropriate teaching should be made as readily available to them as boys [para.106].

How then do we explain the proposals of the Commission which precede the latter quote, that, "if there are to be happy marriages girls must be able to be companions to their husbands and therefore need every opportunity for as wide a cultural education as possible" [para.103] and that, "vocational training

should begin earlier for girls than for boys, and might best take the form of using the specimen dwelling" [para.103].

The answer to this paradox lies in the interplay between ideology and the material conditions specific to women in this society at the time. State policy implied the ideology of equality on the one hand, yet in the cultural (including the religious) sphere, women's roles were still clearly defined in terms of patriarchal family structures and gender differences. The economic reality of their situation demanded that women in working class and peasant families contribute their labour in concrete ways and not only as domestic labourers within the household. Where men in the society aspired to class mobility through educational opportunities, women also had similar aspirations and were taking advantage of this avenue.[8]

The trends in state educational policy and educational ideology hinted at by the Moyne Commission's recommendations were to actually materialize in the post-war period through the efforts of the new government. Williams's critique of the existing educational structure in 1950 in *Education in the British West Indies* was insightful. He recognized that,

> the distortion of colonial education to subserve the needs of the intelligentsia is not so much an imposition from outside as the natural outgrowth of relationships in the colony itself and the relationship between the colony and the metropolitan country. It is not a calculated design. It is the result of an historical process. The educator ... educates in harmony with the prevailing economic, social and political concepts [42 p.13].

He found an education system which was elitist and metropolitan-oriented. It had led to the creation of a professional middle class whose academic-oriented secondary education had prepared them to service the needs of the colonial bourgeoisie through the local civil service. This same academic orientation of secondary education through the decades has produced the phenomenon of white-collar unemployment - since the local civil service cannot now absorb the total output of the system. Schools' curricula both at the primary and secondary level reflected a predominantly literary and mathematical bias, with very little emphasis given to agriculture. This was a natural outcome of the fact that their curricula were

determined by the examination boards of Oxford and Cambridge, reflecting "the interests, environment and knowledge of the examiners". Similarly, vocational education, where it existed, amounted to "no more than training in the tricks and techniques applicable to those special jobs needed for repair... of the western superstructure" [42 p.33].

His proposals for the educational system within the context of colonial rule were progressive, to say the least. They included the suggestion of free and compulsory secondary and primary education, curricula more relevant to the needs of the West Indies, and the inclusion of a higher vocational - especially agricultural - content at the secondary level. In addition, a system of local examinations and facilities for adult education and teacher training should prevail. His recommendations also included the establishment of a state supported and controlled West Indian University plus full state control of all aspects of education.

By 1956, some of these recommendations were embodied in the "People's Charter", the statement of fundamental principles of the Peoples National Movement, the party led by Williams to electoral victory in Trinidad-Tobago that year. The educational structure of the new state still reflected Williams's previous comment, that "the educator... educates in harmony with the prevailing economic, social and political order".

Democracy was the order of the day, supported by its ideology of meritocracy and equal opportunity. Education, recognized before as a sure access to middle class jobs and lifestyles, was in strong demand by the masses, and was met by the expansion of the education system and the granting of free secondary education by 1961. Courting both the working class and the local bourgeoisie - the latter who were supportive of the dual system of administration of education, the state did not intervene in the area of denominational control. Thus the Committee on General Education of 1959 [54 p.23] established as a priority in the "People's Charter" of the PNM,

> to consider the operation of the educational system of the country and make recommendations on future policy related to the curriculum, the improvement of academic and other standards, and the integration of the diverse elements which comprise our population,

could not tackle this problem at the base, but rather postured at changes, for example by renaming the types of

schools which existed. The retention of the 'grammar' schools partly controlled by denominational bodies together with the 'modern' schools under state control, had serious implications for education generally and for women's education specifically. The dual system maintained the past élitism of the educational system since the grammar schools still catered for the middle and upper classes. The curriculum did not change dramatically. The grammar schools pursued their academic orientations while the modern schools, meant to integrate academic and practical education geared to the needs of the economy, fell naturally into a second class status. Even more pervasive, however, was the prolongation of the sexist bias in education bred by denominational grammar schools. They continued to emphasize single sex schools and differences in curricula for each sex. Essentially, this rested on their ideological base of religion which assigned a specific role to women in society; in keeping with this ideology, girls attending these schools were being prepared for these roles. Since these schools were prestigious and the domain of the ideas of the ruling class, the retention of these ideologies had its obvious effect on the rest of society.

By the 1960s, the ideological position of women in state education policy had been resolved. In the *Second Five Year Development Plan* (1964-1968), the *Draft Education Plan* (1968-1983), and subsequent reports, including the *Working Party Report of 1976* chaired by Dr. St.Clair King, emphasis was shifted to the manpower-planning approach to education for economic development. No explicit reference is made to women in the educational structure, implicitly conveying the equality of opportunity for both sexes.

At present, what exists in the educational structure is an integrated system starting with primary education (5-11 years); when the system becomes fully operational, all children will be automatically transferred to the junior secondary schools and at age 14 a national examination will stream them into either a secondary general or comprehensive school. Significantly, 'planning' has failed to consider the problem of the status of the denominationally-assisted schools. Significantly also, a high foreign component of both physical structures and curricula is still very evident.

The question of the implicit equal opportunity of women in education policy, and implications of this, are clarified through an examination of the changing economic demands of the society from the 1950s to the present. Similarly, the reactions of women and men to changes are

really the results of the articulation of the economic structure with those of the ideological and educational structures. This discourse is further developed in the next two sections.

III: The Education of Women

In the light of changes in policy and attitudes to women's education, it is perhaps useful at this point to make a quantitative and qualitative assessment of their changing position and performance in the educational structure of Trinidad-Tobago over the period under study. Carrying out such a cross temporal analysis required the use of data from varying sources, some of which are by no means comparable. Despite the many limitations we are faced with in using pre-collected statistical data and various qualitative sources, it is possible to approximate a fairly accurate picture of women's educational position over time.

We begin again by a comparison with the pre-world war II era. Earlier trends in female and male education for the West Indies can be gleaned from the *Marriott-Mayhew Report* (1933) and the *Moyne Report* (1945).

Essentially, the former's findings reveal equal opportunities for both boys and girls up to the primary level. At the secondary level, this report notes that there were 18 schools for boys and 14 for girls for all the islands, with Trinidad in a better position than the other British West Indian territories. As early as the 1930s there was also the trend of a greater proportion of boys than girls continuing on to higher education. This is evidenced by the number of students taking the Cambridge Junior Certificate Examinations in 1930 - 291 boys and 215 girls, while at the Cambridge Senior Certificate level, the disparity widens to 203 boys and 70 girls.

The findings of the Moyne Commission are also supportive of this trend. They noted that,

> In the early age-groups there is no marked difference between boys and girls as regards school attendance; but in the older classes the number of girls fall off partly because girls are kept at home to look after the younger children. This falling-off is very marked among East Indians, but is perceptible throughout [65 para.103].

While it was clear to them that "Government provision for girls' secondary education is much lower than for boys", the commission recognized the intrusion of cultural and economic determinants in the educational position of girls at this time. Trinidad, in this period, was characterized by a clear division between the major ethnic groups in terms of their relationships to the different modes of production within the social formation. East Indians predominated in rural agriculture, both as wage labourers and/or peasant farmers; Africans in petty trades and industry were generally more urbanized, while the smaller groups such as Chinese, Portuguese and Syrians were mainly concentrated in commercial trades. The whites of course were either property owners or administrators.

There were therefore divergences in the roles attached to women in the different ethnic groups. For women of the upper classes, education was still of the 'finishing school' type. For the major ethnic divisions - Africans and East Indians - education served as an avenue of social mobility, yet here again, differences are noted between males and females as mediated by their cultural traditions. It was economically more viable, and in keeping with the roles assigned by religious structures, for East Indians to educate their boys rather than their girls at higher ages, while this pattern did not prevail for Africans as such. In a culture which held female chastity (and hence their marriageability) as fundamental,[9] East Indians were more hesitant to expose their girls to outside influences. The efforts of the Christian missionaries in East Indian female education, and the increasing attractiveness of education as a way out of traditionalism and unwanted marriages for the girls themselves, were to erode much of this constraint in the coming decades.

By 1946, positive developments could be noted in the educational position of girls. An examination of literacy between 1931 and 1946 shows that for East Indians, the proportion of males per 1,000 of the total population able to read, rose from 313 to 504, while for females the figure for 1931-32, had more than doubled by 1946 to 299 per 1,000 of the total population. For all other races, interestingly the female rate was consistently higher than that of the males, rising from 747 (per 1,000) in 1931 to 753 in 1946. The male rate though increased from 737 in 1931 to 752 in 1946 [See Harewood 20 p.114].

More detailed information on educational attainment is available from the population censuses of 1960 and 1970 where data were gathered on the highest levels of education attained by the population. Table 1, showing school

attendance rates by sex and age, indicates that the greatest improvements have been made for females in all age groups, so much so that by 1970, the total female school attendance rate (78.4) had outstripped the male (77.7). The most significant development for both sexes has been in the 15-19 age group, the result of free secondary education from the early sixties.

Table 1: School Attendance Rates for Students 5-19 Years Old by Sex, 1960 and 1970

Age Group	School Attendance Rate 1960		School Attendance Rate 1970		Change 1960-70	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5 - 9	93.2	93.8	94.6	95.2	+1.4	+1.4
10 - 14	93.0	87.6	92.5	92.3	-0.5	+4.7
15 - 19	27.5	24.0	35.6	39.5	+8.1	+15.5
Total (5-19)	75.8	72.6	77.7	78.4	+1.9	+5.8

Source: Table 4W in Jack Harwood, *the Population of Trinidad and Tobago* [20].

Not only had the female attendance rate outstripped that of the male, but this had been achieved at secondary level where previously girls had lagged behind (see Table 2). This phenomenon cannot be explained by a changing age/sex structure of the population since a comparison of the age/sex ratio between 1960 and 1970 in the age groups 2-14 and 15-44 shows that there had been a definite fall in the sex ratios. For the age groups 2-14 years, the age/sex ratio had decreased from 1,007 females per 1,000 males to 1,006, while for the 15-44 age group, this ratio had fallen from 971 to 946.[10]

Table 2: Population 15 Years Old and Over by Sex and Highest Level of Education, 1960 and 1970

Level of Education	Male		Female	
	1960	1970	1960	1970
None	18,509	14,419	35,617	28,595
Primary	177,037	181,074	170,451	178,323
Secondary	32,930	56,350	31,818	58,785
University	2,204	3,812	587	1,483
Other + N.S.	4,218	7,236	3,035	9,281
Total	235,239	262,891	241,675	276,467
			Proportions	
None	7.9	5.5	14.7	10.3
Primary	75.3	68.9	70.5	64.5
Secondary	14.0	21.4	13.2	21.3
University	0.9	1.4	0.2	0.5
Other + N.S.	1.8	2.8	1.3	3.4

Source: Table 4X, Harewood, [20].

This trend to greater female participation at secondary level is, however, quickly reversed at the university level which shows a significant shortfall behind males (Table 2). Decreases are noticeable also in the categories 'None' and 'Primary' for both sexes, indications of the overall improvements in education for the population.

The pattern of a higher female enrolment at the secondary level and a lower at the university level has continued up to the present, although there have been significant improvements at the university level (Table 3).

Table 3: Enrolment in Secondary Schools and New Admissions of Undergraduates at UWI, St. Augustine, 1970/71 and 1975/76 by Sex

	1970/71		1975/76	
	Secondary Schools	University	Secondary Schools*	University
Male	21,646	193	30,882	273
Female	22,767	102	31,025	192
% Female	51.3	34.6	50.1	41.3

*These figures do not include enrolment in Private Secondary Schools in which female enrolment had exceeded that of males for the years 1965 and 1970/71.

Source: CSO [48, 49].

Regarding the over-representation of girls at secondary level education, Cross and Schwartzbaum's study of social mobility and secondary school selection in Trinidad-Tobago [7] is very useful and relevant here. The findings of their survey revealed that more East Indian girls than East Indian boys are to be found at the secondary level, while Negro males are more represented than Negro females. They suggested that,

> The high percentage of East Indian girls may be a function of the East Indian family structure. Male members of the rural extended families are diverted towards the cane fields and supporting the family unit, girls are generally permitted only the alternative of attending school or remaining home. Understandably, it appears that many girls are keen to choose the former and the thought that education may lead to either marriage or a career which offers more independence in a more congenial environment could be a factor [p.205].

They recognized that economic and occupational considerations are of considerable importance in explaining why Negro males predominate over both East Indian males and Negro girls.

> The Civil Service and other governmental employment has traditionally offered more opportunities for Negro males in Trinidad and Tobago - but only to those possessing sufficient educational qualifications. Negro girls suffer the most of all groups

> in obtaining secondary education. This may be attributable to a combination of factors which include far fewer familial restraints than those imposed on Indian girls, more employment opportunities with lower educational requirements, (i.e. factories, offices etc.) and possibly a greater reliance on their contributions to maintain and support the household [p.205].

Their findings also reveal that more East Indians are selected for denominational schools, and more Negroes in government schools - while in respect of overall selection by racial divisions, Chinese, White and racially mixed are more represented, followed by East Indians and Negroes.

In spite of the improvements in the numbers of both sexes being educated, two trends have persisted. First, that of the elitism in educational selection which maintains the class structure. This is made clearer by Braithwaite's study of social stratification in Trinidad in 1953. Despite the limitations of the functionalist perspective which he uses, he illustrates an accurate hierarchical structure which was based mainly on ascriptive norms and skin colour. In this stratification system, whites and coloureds formed the uppermost parts of a pyramidical distribution, with East Indians and Africans concentrated at the bottom [3 pp.41-45]. Already though, a growing middle class based on achievement norms, for example through education or marriage, were admitting East Indians and Africans into the fold. The second noticeable trend in education is that of numerically fewer females at higher levels. As Cross and Schwartzbaum have suggested, the conflict between their roles of domesticity and femininity, and the opportunities for greater economic and other forms of freedom, were the overt factors which militated against their equal absorption into the educational structure.

Arguments about their ability to perform well as the level of education increases can be dispelled if we examine some of the data on examination results. Table 4 implies that at the secondary (GCE) O level at least, the performance of girls has improved relative to that of boys. No data are presently available here to substantiate the view that this trend also persists at the secondary (GCE) A Level. Based on the observed pattern so far, we can conjecture that fewer girls may actually go on to do A Levels.

Table 4: Cambridge GCE O Level Results - Five or More Passes by Sex, 1967-1972

Year	Both Sexes	Male	Female	% Female
1967	1,031	530	501	48.59
1968	1,113	576	537	48.25
1969	1,112	585	527	47.39
1971	1,738	818	920	52.93
1972	1,573	773	800	50.86

Source: Table 16 - CSO [45].

Data are again unavailable here on curricula and subject areas chosen by girls and boys at GCE O and A levels, a grave deficiency since these can be useful indicators of the persistence of sex-related trends in the present educational system. 'Technological determinism', an essential constituent of a highly capital intensive industrialization policy, has implications for a continued trend. The prerequisites are the physical and natural sciences which were traditionally areas for men, both in terms of school facilities made available to them, and also jobs after school. This tendency may persist, since girls who choose these subject areas may have difficulty finding jobs, mainly through employer prejudice, thus forcing them to choose areas where they are likely to find employment easily.

That there are still male and female specific areas is clearly obvious from an examination of the subject areas chosen by each sex at the vocational and technical level (Table 5) and at university level (Table 6) for recent years. Both sets of data reveal that the majority of women are still doing courses which restrict them to professions and occupations which are extensions of 'women's skills'. While this is still the prevalent trend, this is not to decry the inroads they have made into erstwhile male dominated areas, for example engineering and building construction. Within the last decades, the effect of a growing consciousness among women internationally, and increasing economic demands made on them have helped to erode past trends.

Table 5: Enrolment by Course and Sex at Technical and Vocational Schools - (selected courses Term I) 1976/77

Courses		Term I Male	Female
Technician	Building Construction	111	4
Courses	Telecommunications	30	-
	Shorthand/Typist (full time)	-	82
	Instrument Maintenance (advanced)	68	-
	Home Economics	-	35
Craft	Welding (full time)	81	2
Courses	Clerk/Typist	-	55
	Dressmaking and Design	7	201
	Mechanical Engineering (full time)	48	-

Source: CSO [44].

Table 6: Graduates from the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, for Selected Years, 1966/67 to 1977/78 by Sex

Faculty	1966/67			1971/72			1974/75			1977/78		
	M	F	% F	M	F	% F	M	F	% F	M	F	% F
Agriculture	3	-	0.0	10	3	23.1	16	7	28.0	22	7	24.1
Arts & General Studies	49	33	44.1	16	29	64.4	39	74	65.5	41	81	66.4
Engineering	18	-	0.0	40	-	0.0	25	-	0.0	50	2	3.8
Natural Sciences	10	4	28.6	49	25	33.8	33	30	47.6	36	33	47.8
Social Sciences	-	-	-	41	14	25.5	46	18	28.1	40	25	38.5
All Faculties	80	37	31.6	156	71	31.3	159	129	44.8	189	148	43.9

Source: CSO [53].

Our cursory glance at the available data has indicated significant improvements in the educational position of both sexes in the period 1945 to the present. Women, especially, have made tremendous strides, more so since they have also been battling with somewhat intangible forces such as prejudices and attitudes regarding women's ideological role in society. The material base has always influenced reality so that changes in the attitudes to and opportunities for women's education have gone hand in hand with changes in the prevailing mode of production. Our analysis is therefore incomplete without an examination of the interconnections between women's education and women's work. This is carried out in the next section of this study.

IV: Women's Education for Women's Work

That there exists a positive correlation between the level of education of women and their participation in the labour force has been illustrated by researchers for several developed and developing societies. In an international comparison of women and work, Galenson [13] finds that the more highly educated women entered and re-entered the labour market whether they were married or not and whether or not they had any children. This relationship was also found by Grossman [19] and MacEaddy [27] for the United States, the former noting a definite trend of higher educational levels leading to lower unemployment rates among women. Elizaga, in an analysis of census data from Argentina and Chile [9], observed a marked positive association between years of education and labour force participation of women. Greater number of years of formal education led women into the non-manual occupations, which were better paid. The under-recording of rural uneducated women's unpaid family work was, however, barely mentioned. Women's propensity to enter the labour force, as well as to remain in the labour market in spite of family situations, is increased tremendously by higher education levels - as illustrated by Wainerman [40] for Argentina and Paraguay. Finally, Standing [38] has pointed out that empirical research has so far not adequately demonstrated any *consistent* association between education and female labour force participation. Rather, the importance of education as a factor influencing labour force involvement has to be evaluated in the context of the rapid growth of commercialization, urbanization and industrialization in low income countries.

Data for Trinidad-Tobago give indications of a positive correlation between women's education and their labour force participation in this society. A retrospective

school leavers' survey carried out by the statistical department in 1973 revealed that the better qualified school leaver took a shorter time to get his or her first continuous job but the experience of the lesser educated female was different from her male counterpart in that she took a longer time to gain employment. Another indication of this correlation is found in the labour force data of the CSSP. Round 31 of 1979 shows that while the unemployment rate for women at all levels of education exceeds that of men, it was lowest at the highest level (university) and the two lowest levels (no education and kindergarten) [CSO 52, 47 No. 47, Table 2].

A basic weakness of the empirical studies discussed is that they are predicated on abstracted assumptions about labour market behaviour which bear little relation to the political and economic machinery of the state. The position of women within the labour market both historically and presently, is a special one which needs careful attention. Consider, for example, this observation of W.H. Macmillan in *A Warning from the West Indies* in 1935. He writes on 'Women's Work',

> ...It is significant that employers try to stimulate effort by putting both men and women on piece-work whenever possible. The women are paid at roughly half the men's rate. Owing to the high illegitimate birth rate and its effects on social organization, this has not the usual excuse that the man has a family to keep; ... the mothers are largely responsible for the children and earn because they must. The roads are often lined with little heaps of road metal which is broken up by women. ... In the canefields they have their special jobs, for some of which they may have special aptitude. But most of their work is of a kind done elsewhere by men if not by machines. The women's activity - which includes the marketing of garden produce, gives them independence. But they are employed because they are cheap and their employment in these conditions must have a depressing effect on wages, hinder the process of mechanization, and encourage that wasteful use of labour which greatly helps to keep standards low [28 p.96].

As we can see, the position of women within the system of economic production is an ambiguous one. Their capacity to reproduce the labour force relegates them to a specific role in the family and as domestic unpaid labour within this structure. This same role is used in the capitalist mode of production to rationalize the lower

wages they are paid if they are forced to seek employment and to depress wages for the working class by means of their easy expendability as a reserve labour force. It is obvious, therefore, that their education and increased access to jobs is not divorced from the political economy of work and must not be examined in abstraction.

Turning now to women's work in Trinidad-Tobago, we look first at the pre-war period. Harewood [20] in an examination of the characteristics of the economically active population[11] between 1931 and 1946, reveals a distinct division of labour between the sexes. At this time, for men, the principal new skilled and semi-skilled occupations available were as welders, electricians, stationary engine-men, motor vehicle drivers, miners, carpenters, masons, painters, mechanics, tailors and shoemakers. Among women though, "the principal skilled occupation ... was that of dress-makers which represented 95 per cent of the skilled female workers and 84 per cent of the combined skilled and semi-skilled female occupation class". The category personal service worker, comprised mainly female domestic servants or laundresses. Clerical workers were largely female stenographers/typists while men were to be found rather in the 'armed forces'. Harewood also points out that the large-scale entry of females into the clerical occupations was in great measure a result of wartime developments. Within the professional service, among females, the predominant occupations were school teaching and nursing. At this time, men constituted the largest number of school teachers, but quite a significant number were to be found in the medical and legal professions, as druggists and religious workers, and within the construction industry as architects, draughtsmen or engineers.

This occupational distribution of the labour force is not unexpected, given the educational opportunities open to women at this time, and even more significantly given the fact that the prevailing economic demands (outside of agriculture) on women were still limited. It is important to emphasize here the class difference operating within the female labour force, since class origins usually determined their eventual relationship to the means of production. Women from the working class would more likely than not find themselves in working class jobs, for example in factories or as domestic servants, those whose opportunities allowed them a few more years of education would move to teaching or nursing while at the upper extreme, women may indirectly live off the accumulation of family wealth with no need to work for a living. In the struggle for increased demands, women who are forced to

sell their labour power would therefore stimulate changes in conditions for all women. In the post-war period, the transfer of political authority brought with it an acceleration in the opportunities for social mobility provided through education. Pujadas [33 p.7] notes that:

> Both in the Private and Public sectors of the economy, there were "white collar" job opportunities for locals, sons and *daughters* [my emphasis] of parents who were essentially from the local strata.

This trend of increasing occupational mobility is illustrated for a few occupations which require either a secondary, post primary or university education for entrance (Table 7).

Table 7: Numbers Employed in Selected Major Occupations 1946, 1960 by Sex

Occupations	1946		1960	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Chemist, Druggist	343	-	297	72
Dentist	56	-	63	10
Engineer	713	-	1,027	2
Legal Profession	151	-	285	6
Trained Nurse	18	894	194	1,528
Physician Surgeon	139	8	251	33
School Teacher	1,509	1,713	2,714	3,021
Book-Keeper, Cashier	516	646	2,428	2,084
Office Clerk	7,278	1,241	7,281	1,819
Stenographer, Typist	432	1,021	579	3,220

Source: Census Data of 1946 and 1960

In the decade of the 1950s, therefore, women were increasingly attracted to certain occupations - where economic, education and family conditions allowed. A large number of women were drawn into occupations which demanded limited educational pre-requisites; these were the skilled and unskilled occupations in the numerous manufacturing (especially garment) and assembly industries which had arisen as a result of the industrialization policy implemented by the new government. It is

interesting to note that their involvement was mainly in areas considered extensions of women's skills, condemning them in some cases to the most exploitative conditions of the modern sector.

A detailed analysis of the current occupational and industrial trends within the female labour force is not carried out here. Data are, however, drawn from several empirical sources, which, although not comparable, are useful in illustrating the present trends.

A tabulation of the Manpower Report based on the 1970 population census, illustrating the main occupations of both sexes, (see Appendix II) shows that only in the group Service Worker do females exceed males. They are fairly well represented though in Professional and Technical Workers, Administrative, Executive, Managerial and Clerical Workers and Craftsmen and Production Process Workers. A list of Special Occupations selected from this aggregate shows that within these larger occupational categories, women still predominate in the traditional female areas such as teaching and nursing in the Professional Worker category and so on.

Data of more recent vintage - Round 31 in 1979 of the CSSP (Table 8) - show a concentration of women in similar occupational distribution, with the highest percentages in (1), (2), (3) and (8). Differences in occupational classification and survey method prohibit comparisons with the census data previously cited; our examination of the courses selected by women at technical and vocational school (Table 5) and at university level (Table 6), however, suggests that radical changes in women's occupational choice is limited to a small minority.

Table 8: Labour Force by Sex and Occupational Group (Rd. 31 CSSP)

	Occupational Group	Total Labour Force		
		Male	Female	% Female
(1)	Professional and Technical Worker	18,200	16,700	46.9
(2)	Administrative, Executive, Managerial and Clerical Worker	26,400	31,400	54.3
(3)	Commercial, Financial and Insurance Broker	21,300	19,000	47.1
(4)	Farmer, Fisherman, Hunter, Logger and Forest Worker	34,900	10,700	23.5
(5)	Craftsmen, Production Process Workers and Labourers not elsewhere classified (including workers in mining and quarrying)	85,400	12,100	12.4
(6)	Workers - transport and Communication	24,000	2,000	8.3
(7)	Workers - Construction	73,200	12,500	14.6
(8)	Service Worker	23,500	29,400	55.7

Source: CSO [46] LP 1-20, Table 3, p.13

Even within the fields in which they are concentrated through increased educational opportunities and expansion of certain economic sectors, women may still fill the lowest positions. The findings of the National Commission on the Status of Women in Trinidad and Tobago, published in their Report of 1978, support this proposition. The Report shows that in the civil service in 1974, the highest proportion of female workers were to be found in the range clerk I, while in the highest reaches of the civil service there were very few or no women (see Appendix III). We can also venture no definite statements here regarding the predominance of men in the highest government and political posts (which may not necessarily have been based on educational qualifications).

A fundamental paradox thus underlies any study of education for women. On the one hand there is an official ideology of equal opportunity for all at school - for both

sexes of all social classes; and in Trinidad-Tobago this has been the prevailing ideology since the fifties. Yet the options open to girls after they have left school are considerably fewer than those open to boys. Since their options are limited after the formal education process they restrict themselves (or are restricted) within the school to the traditional subjects. A vicious circle is thus set up around women's education and women's work. The problem is much less unidimensional and unidirectional than this reasoning suggests. It relates rather, as the underlying thesis of this paper stresses, to the interconnections of culture, the economy and the educational institution with the prevailing ideologies in a society. The Trinidad-Tobago (and West Indian) situation becomes even more complicated because of the intrusion and resistance of different cultures within the society.

Essentially though, there exists a common ideology about masculine and feminine roles. Boys are seen as eventual breadwinners and wage earners, girls are prepared for a domestic role. Early childhood socialization within the home prepares them for these adult roles. Among researchers into the West Indian situation, both Moses [31] and Green [18] agree on the importance of child-rearing practices in influencing sex role stereotypes, the latter identifying mothers as the main agent of this within the home. Henry and Wilson [21] also agree that "young girls are imbued with certain attitudes, as well as instructed in specifically 'women's work' in these formative years", while they note grudgingly the differential treatment of boys. Sex role models laid down in the family situation are reinforced by daily experiences, in interaction with people who also share similar ideas, through the media, and not the least of these, at the school itself. Milne-Home shows in her study [30] not only sexual stereotyping as reinforced by school textbooks, teachers and teaching materials, but also, and of importance for this study, the school as an agent of transmission of a particular ideology.

Thus women's education and women's work are in a sense predetermined in a particular system and changes in each occur only as a result of changing demands of the economic substructure, and changing attitudes in the cultural sphere.

V: Theoretical and Policy Considerations

This study has posited a determinate relationship between the educational institution, cultural dimensions of the society as regards women, and the economics of the labour market. Given that the focal point where all of these factors interact and become manifest is in the cloistered halls of the schools themselves, the limitations of the study are readily apparent. There is no qualitative and ethnographic research available whereby the dynamics of the education of women could be brought to light. This gap suggests several questions and problems for research which are vital for the development of Women's Studies in the Caribbean. These issues include the following questions:

(1) How does the cultural background of the girls affect their educational aspirations and achievement? In this area some work was done by Rubin and Zavalloni [35] in 1957. More contemporary research is vitally needed here.

(2) How do cultural biases of the society affect the nature and content of education offered to girls? This issue is broader than merely an analysis of school organization, curricula and textbooks and so on. Involved here are the attitudes, biases and practices of the educators - the teachers.

(3) Are the ambitions of girls founded on a perception of their most likely future employment?

(4) Are the attitudes towards female employment affected by the current state of the job market? If so how is this manifest in official policy and public opinion?

Despite the obvious lacunae in our knowledge, it is possible and desirable that we formulate theoretical conceptions which are based on the available data as guidelines to further research. As such, it is probably appropriate now to elucidate some of the theoretical considerations which have explicitly and implicitly informed the present study. These are dealt with briefly under the following heads:

Education and the State

- Capitalism and Equality (ideology)
- Meritocracy and Inequality (class, race and sex)
- The State and Reproduction of the Social Formation

Women and Labour

- Women as the industrial reserve army (capitalism and unemployment)
- Housework as unpaid labour
- Why does capitalist reproduction require female oppression?

Women and Culture

- Patriarchy and female dependence
- African family, matrifocality, sexual conflict.

Education and the State

While institutionalized education has long been an integral part of human society, it was only under the impact of capitalist development in 18th century Europe that it obtained its present form. Under the conditions of economic industrialization and political democratization, education attained a vital role in several spheres of life which transformed it fundamentally. This role was both cultural and ideological, and to meet its imperatives has been the function of institutionalized education.[12]

Culturally, the education system was required to provide the knowledge and training of the labour force to suit the demands of the economy. This meant the education of the working class for their future jobs, as well as providing a suitable number of bureaucrats to staff the growing state. Ideologically, the system took over from the religious authorities and the extended family structure, the preparation of the c.tizen for his politcal rights and duties.

These two functions of the educational system, the cultural and the ideological, were required to be performed simultaneously, although each contradicted the other. Ideologically, the system fostered the concept of *equality* of all citizens. This was manifest most clearly in the institution of common examinations. Culturally, the educational system, in order to provide a competitive work force, fostered *inequality*. The creation of successful students for important posts also meant the creation of failures. Although every person was equal, it

was necessary for some to be more equal than others.

The concept which bridged the idealistic notions of equality to the reality of inequality, was that of *meritocracy*. This concept 'explained' how it was possible for everyone to have an equal chance, and yet for some to outstrip the majority by far. In this light, it was a most suited ideology for a society stratified by classes and a rigid division of labour.

These functions of the educational system came into being in Trinidad-Tobago once the twin revolutions of industrial development and political democratization were placed on the agenda. As the state democratized, so too did education. As industrialization became a governmental policy, education became an economic factor.

Women and Labour

So far we have suggested that the initiatives for educational development arise from economic and political imperatives. It is now possible to outline how the issue of gender is inserted into these demands made upon the educational institution.

The social reproduction of capitalist society requires an industrial reserve army[13] which can be absorbed into production when the demand for labour is high, and be jettisoned when the demand is low. The two major sources of this reserve army are women and migrant labour. These provide cheap labour when it is required, and can be withdrawn from the market when necessary with a minimum of political dissensus.

The reproduction of capitalist society also requires the biological reproduction, care and maintenance of the present and future workforce. Much of this comes under the rubric of household production - another aspect of the economic basis of female oppression. Domestic labour of wives is the main form of unpaid employment in society and is necessary to the creation of surplus value for the accumulation of capital. Yet this service for capitalists goes unpaid and unrecognized as 'productive' labour.

These abstract considerations only operate as smoothly as we have described, under optimum conditions, if ever. In the day to day life of the class struggle, attempts to roll back gains made by women or by the working class are fought bitterly.

Women and Culture

A major thread which runs throughout this paper takes the form of a paradox between the formal equality between women and men and their substantive inequality. Given the focus of this study, we have identified how the inequality is manifest in education and occupation. The real ambiance of sexual inequality, however, is in the sphere of culture. It is in the ideas and practices of the various classes and segments of society that sexual discrimination thrives, and this is especially, but not solely, within the sphere of family relations. The ethnic diversity of this society compounds any facile description of cultural oppression of women.

Nevertheless, some attempts have been made to describe the source of this oppression in the different cultural spheres. The majority of family studies have been content to repeat platitudes regarding 'matrifocality' as if this somehow excludes male domination. In the Afro-Caribbean family this has taken the form of relative female economic independence, yet lower female status in the cultural traditions. This contradiction is manifest in heightened sexual conflict and mutual suspicion.[14] In the case of the East Indians, a rigid form of patriarchal dominance as a part of the extended family structure operates to keep women in a subservient status. It has been argued that urbanization is leading to a breakdown of these relationships, especially as women participate in the labour force, but it remains to be seen if any changes are more than cosmetic [James 22; Angrosino 1].

In conclusion, we wish to emphasize the need for a refocusing of social science investigation into the virgin territory of sexual oppression. Perhaps this may be one of the keys to the problem of the class/race articulation which has bedevilled sociological discussion for decades. If this paper has aimed at suggesting some lines of enquiry into new fields, it is all too well knowing that it suffers from a lack of precisely such research. It is ironic that a region so receptive to metropolitan fashions and fads has been so insular to scientific developments, and it seems that the women's movement has passed us by. But women are on the move and, as C.L.R. James has said, the intellectuals must take account of History for it is certain that History will take account of the intellectuals.

Footnotes

[1] I wish to thank most especially Kim Johnson, graduate student of the Department of Sociology, UWI, St. Augustine, who has given me invaluable help and support in working through many of the problems in this paper. Much of my difficulty, which centred around cognition of the theory and its articulation with the empirical was reduced through my discussions with him, and by continuous reference to his unpublished paper [23]. The limitations of my paper, of course, rest entirely with myself.

[2] Because of the importance of the concepts 'structure' and 'articulation' in this study, it is perhaps useful at this point to define them for the reader. The usage of the terms is taken from Post [32]. See Appendix I for definitions.

[3] Further discussion of these three levels can be found in Tropp [39].

[4] 'Woman' as used throughout this study refers to the female sex rather than to a specific age threshold.

[5] In 1921 and 1931 the general gainful worker rates of females were 62.73 and 42.63, and males, 85.39 and 82.49. By 1946 these had fallen to 26.06 for females and 78.62 for males. This indicates therefore the fairly high 'economically active' female population of the time. Further details of this can be seen in Harewood [20 pp.133-135].

[6] Many of these differences and contradictions came to the fore in the 1970 'Black Power' riots in Trinidad.

[7] Developments for the island of Tobago in the pre-1900 period are vague since it was only in 1899 that the histories of both islands have merged. Thus only developments after this year refer to both Trinidad and Tobago.

[8] This argument is counterposed to one for women in British society. The different family structure (nuclear) and its history of male head and support, perpetuated the ideal of women as housewives so that women in this society could aspire towards domesticity as class mobility. Family studies in the West Indies, (e.g. Edith Clarke - *My Mother Who Fathered Me*), have shown the many instances of female-headed and supported families, thus requiring a more positive tendency in the West Indian female. Note, however, that even within this argument, differences may be noted between East Indian and African women and families.

[9] Further discussions of this, as well as on East Indians and education, can be found for instance in articles in LaGuerre [24] and Angrosino [1].

[10] Discussion extracted from Harewood [20] ch.4. pp.123-129.

[11] The economically active population is that part of the general population which furnishes the supply of labour for the production of economic goods and services. It includes own account workers, employers, unpaid family workers and employees. This discussion is taken from Harewood [20] pp.142-143.

[12] These ideas, highly abbreviated and schematized, are to be found in greater detail in Simon [37] and Bowles [2].

[13] On the industrial reserve army Marx writes:

> ... a surplus population of workers is a necessary product of the accumulation or of the development of wealth on a capitalist basis, this surplus population also becomes, conversely the lever of capatalist accumulation, indeed it becomes a condition for the existence of the capitalist mode of production. It forms a disposable industrial reserve army which belongs to capital just as absolutely as if the latter had bred it at its own cost... it creates a mass of human material always ready for exploitation by capital in the interests of capital's own changing valorization requirements. ...The path characteristically described by modern industry, which takes the form of a decennial cycle of periods of average activity, production at high pressure, crisis and stagnation, depends on the constant formation, the greater or less absorption, and the re-formation of the industrial reserve army or surplus population. In their turn, the varying phases of the industrial cycle recruit the surplus population and become one of the most energetic agencies for its reproduction.

[14] Henry and Wilson [21 p.193] note that "Women are often seen by men as manipulative strategists who cleverly devise ways and means to obtain their objectives at the expense of men". See also Elder [8].

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Appendix I

Ken Post [32] writes, "structures as a concept in this study...define practices and their instances by specifying both ways in which they bring together actors and means of production and their spatial boundaries.

A practice, "requires the bringing together of actors and means of production and reproduction - capital, land, tools, means of communication, concepts, technical knowledge, political and legal institutions and so on. Within a practice, this bringing together may take various forms, which we may call instances, which exist and change in space and time".

Thus structures are "sets of similar relations, the similarity being defined by the nature of the particular practice or its instance being structured, and have two aspects, the relations which bring together actors and means organizationally, and the relations among actors", [p.15].

This usage of 'articulation' is devised from the Althusserian use of the concept as its literal meaning in English conveys - to articulate means both to join together and give clear expression to something. Thus he speaks of "the 'conjunctive' and expressive' levels of articulation. This is, for example, precisely the relationship between the structures of the economic 'base' and the others. They are joined together, in a special way, since the base is the finally determinant condition of existence of the others; but they are also its necessary expressions, giving shape to its effects in terms of cognitive and political practice and thus helping to develop it further".

Appendix II

Population* 10 years old and over by sex and main occupation and special occupations during past 12 months, (1970 Population Census)

Occupation	Male	Female
OCCUPATION GROUPS		
Professional and Technical Workers	12,300	8,300
Athletes, Sportsmen and Related Workers	100	100
Administrative, Executive, Managerial and Clerical Worker	14,700	11,100
Commercial, Financial and Insurance Workers	13,400	6,200
Farmer, Fisherman, Hunter, Logger and Forest Worker	27,200	5,100
Craftsman, Production, Process Worker and Labourer, N.E.C. (including Worker in Mining & Quarrying)	55,400	9,400
Workers in Transport and Communication	14,600	1,000
Workers in Construction	12,200	100
Service Worker	11,300	14,600
Not Stated	2,300	900
TOTAL	163,500	56,600
SPECIAL OCCUPATIONS		
Quantity Surveyors	100	-
Land Surveyors	400	-
Professional Nurses		
Nursing Personnel, N.E.C.	300	900
Professional Midwives	-	100
Midwifery Personnel, N.E.C.	-	-
University and Higher Education Teachers	200	-
Secondary School Teachers	900	700
Primary School Teachers	2,800	3,300
Other School Teachers	300	800

Continued .../

Appendix II (Cont'd)

Occupation	Male	Female
SPECIAL OCCUPATIONS		
Sale Supervisors	300	-
Buyers	-	-
Technical Salesmen and Service Advisers	100	-
Commercial Travellers and Manufacturers' Agents	200	-
Insurance Salesmen	600	-
Real Estate Salesmen	100	-
Business Services and Securities Salesmen	300	-
Auctioneers	100	-
Salesmen, Shop Assistants and Demonstrators	5,800	3,300
Motor Vehicle Mechanics	5,300	-
Aircraft Engine Mechanics	100	-
Electrical Fitters	300	-
Electronics Fitters	-	-
Electrical and Electronic Equipment Assemblies	100	-
Radio and T.V. Repairman	200	100
Electrical Wiremen	1,400	-
Telephone and Telegraph Installers	100	-
Electric Linemen and Cable Jointers	400	-
Electrical Fitters and Related Electrical and Electronics Workers, N.E.C.	800	-
Draughtsmen	200	100
Stenographers, Typists and Secretaries	400	4,400
Plumbers and Pipe Fitters	2,400	-
Welders and Flame Cutters	2,500	-
Stone-masons, Bricklayers, Tilesetters	2,100	-
Carpenters, Joiners and Parquetry Workers	5,600	-

*Includes those who worked for any period during last 12 months.

Appendix III

The Position of Women in the Civil Service 1950, 1956 to 1974

	1950	1974
Clerk I		
Male	474	346
Female	108	552
% Female	18.7	61.5
Clerk II		
Male	159	276
Female	43	255
% Female	22.3	48.0
Clerk III		
Male	86	153
Female	15	96
% Female	14.8	41.9
Clerk IV		
Male	65	79
Female	1	63
% Female	1.5	44.3
	1956	1974
Adminstrative Cadet		
Male	3	10
Female	-	16
% Female	0.0	65.4

Continued .../

Appendix III

	1956	1974
Administrative Officer II		
Male	8	37
Female	1	41
% Female	12.5	52.5
Administrative Officer IV		
Male	2	30
Female	-	5
% Female	0.0	14.5
Administrative Officer V		
Male	-	14
Female	-	1
% Female	-	7.2
Permanent Secretary		
Male	5	24
Female	-	-
% Female	0.0	0.0

Source: [57 pp.45-46].

Women and Education

The education of Caribbean women – with special reference to Barbados and Trinidad-Tobago – is the subject of this volume. These contributors examine the historical process and find a positive correlation between women's education and their labour force participation. Joyce Cole infers from official reports that education of women in these colonies "was predicated on the ideological assumption prevalent in Britain at the time that woman's place was in the home and that her true vocation was that of wife and mother". Patricia Mohammed uses a structural approach to analyse the education provided for women in postwar Trinidad. As Kathleen Drayton in her Introduction observes, "These papers improve our knowledge of the historical process which imposed on the British West Indies an education system that discriminated against women while creating and reinforcing an image of women's role which differed from social reality. They show that it was not the world of work, but prestigious positions and the 'citadels of power' that their education made inaccessible to women."

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